

# The Nation.

August 20-27, 1983 \$1.25; U.K. 65p

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY  
East Orange, NJ 07019

AUG 17 1983

PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT

## EDITORIAL

### GUATEMALA RESHUFFLES

There's no reason to take Guatemala's new President seriously when he promises to "restore" democratic freedoms and civil rights to the nation he now rules. Brig. Gen. Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores differs from the many militarists and their civilian supporters who have managed Guatemala's repressive regimes for three decades only in insignificant details. Since the C.I.A. overthrew the popular, elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954, there has never been real democracy in the land. No general will restore freedoms that he helped to destroy.

Mejía Victores's résumé hardly inspires optimism. His recent assignment has been to execute the genocidal policies of his predecessor, Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, against the Indian peasant population. It was not the severity but the style of Ríos Montt's dictatorship that prompted Mejía Victores to organize a coup. In Ríos Montt's seventeen months of power, he destabilized Guatemalan society with his born-again fanaticism, and he succeeded in alienating the U.S. Congress, which has refused President Reagan's requests for long-term military aid.

Rumors of Ríos Montt's impending removal have been rife since late June, when he imposed a kind of martial law. A few days before the August 8 coup, Mejía Victores met with the top American military commanders in Central America, and it is hard to believe that the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala City did not know and approve of his plans. For Mejía Victores now serves the Administration's purposes in the region: to bring Guatemala into the counter-revolutionary alliance with Honduras and El Salvador and to coordinate military and political pressure against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran guerrillas. But how can a Guatemala wrenched by coups and countercoups and despairing of democracy serve any good purpose at all?

THE MOOD  
IN HAVANA  
Sidney Lens

ABORTION  
AFFIRMED  
Nan Hunter

ATARI ZAPS  
ITS WORKERS  
Dave Lindorff

RUCKELSHAUS  
CLEANING?  
Jim Sibbison

STRINGS ON  
WORKER GIFTS  
Timothy  
Saasta

THE RISE OF  
GAY RIGHTS  
George  
DeStefano

## MINORITY REPORT

### THE SELLING OF MILITARY INTERVENTION

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

In the White House, and at taxpayers' expense, sits Faith Ryan Whittlesey, who heads the Office of Public Liaison. She ought to be better known than she is. It is her task, and the task of her team, to win the hearts and minds of Americans for the next war. Will you welcome, please, the "Central America Policy Outreach Program." It sounds like a well-meaning Sunday school project. In fact, it is an effort to recruit Americans, sector by sector, to support a policy of military intervention in Central America. Before me are the documents with which they hope to do it.

One, dated June 1, 1983, is entitled "Nicaragua's Sandinistas: Having It All Ways." This is a specious history of the revolution and an even more selective account of the present situation. Like all Administration statements, it assumes that Nicaraguan history began in 1979. Since, therefore, there is no mention of the U.S. role in sustaining Somoza, there is no need to mention today's Somocistas. Having expertly and conveniently skipped over all that, the document is free to take a high moral tone on the issues of press freedom and political pluralism in Nicaragua.

Let's be clear here. There is obviously an element in the Sandinist leadership that believes a revolution is its own justification and that "the people" are so united they need only one party and one newspaper (or maybe a variety of newspapers saying the same thing). But can this problem—individual rights versus the common good, which is essentially the crisis of the left in the twentieth century—be solved for Nicaragua by

(Continued on Page 134)

# LETTERS.

## RUDOLPH NO 'N.S.C. SCHOLAR'

Chicago

In his article on Robert Ward's proposal for government funding of international studies ["A Diller, A Dollar, An N.S.C. Scholar," *The Nation*, June 25], Andrew Kopkind portrayed me as a conservative heavy and a cheerful agent of Ward's plan. I am, in fact, very much opposed to the scheme, because it substitutes government and national security agendas for the intellectual agendas of autonomous academics, and is likely to contaminate—as Project Camelot and the Advanced Research Projects Agency did fifteen years ago—the climate for academic research in foreign countries.

I have led opposition to the proposal in both the Association for Asian Studies and, to a lesser extent, the American Political Science Association. I am very much in accord with the skeptical position representatives of the University of Chicago have expressed about the proposal. Kopkind would have done better to find out my position than to deduce it incorrectly from circumstances he did not understand.

Susanne Hoeber Rudolph

Director, South Asia Language  
and Area Center

Professor, Department of Political Science  
University of Chicago

## I SAY 'MISSOURA'

New York City

As one born and raised in Missouri, I've spent the better part of my life trying to get people outside our mule-stubborn state to say it correctly [Calvin Trillin, "Uncivil Liberties," *The Nation*, July 23-30]. Since I match the much-ignored national speed limit in age, that's many a year of fighting.

Trillin has no reason to do so, but I wish he'd take up a few other struggles in the various pronunciation lost causes in which I specialize. The word is *creck* not *creek*, although my effete now-fellow Easterners might be happier were the spelling *greque*. The city is Cincinnati, not *i* there either, although an entire generation is being misguided by TV commentators who haven't the slightest notion of the proper pronunciation of the Queen City's name. The same sorts have corrupted Miama to Miamée, a cause too lost to dwell on.

As a writer and speaker on the arts, I've devoted my professional years to trying to get the world to pronounce Puccini's last and grandest opera, "Turandot," as though there were no *t* at the end. Rosa Raisa, the magnificent soprano who created the title role, made me promise to defend what "Puccini, Toscanini and I determined: there is NEVER to be heard a *t* at the end of 'Turandot'—that is too ugly!"

These causes are as lost as those of Don Quixote, but all are worth the effort. I can't

but be grateful for one dedicated writer defending the good old days in a magazine which is rightly dedicated to better new days. Thanks, Cal, some of us still care.

Byron Belt

## QUARRELING WITH QUINN

Oxford, Ohio

As a student of English language and literature, I've been delighted with Jim Quinn's attacks on pop grammarians like John Simon and William Safire, and his defense of studying English usage rather than just pontificating about it. Still, I would argue with Quinn's abstractions, historicism and libertarianism.

Quinn knows quite well that language doesn't exist in a vacuum, that it has speakers and hearers and contexts. But he sometimes ignores style and rhetoric and turns on its head the absolutism of pontificators: where they say some usage or construction is always wrong, Quinn says it is always correct. That's wrong.

The passive voice is perfectly grammatical in English. However, Hannah Arendt was on to an important point when she noted that the voice of modern bureaucratic tyranny is the passive voice; and Senator Howard Baker was right in saying that the main linguistic problem of many of the witnesses before the Watergate committee wasn't their maddening repetition of "point in time," but their use of the passive, their tendency to say "It was ordered that" rather than "I ordered."

Quinn's historicism and libertarianism go together. Showing that a usage goes back at least to 1753 demonstrates conclusively that it isn't a new atrocity against English. But that usage might've been a bad idea in 1753 and a worse one today; or it might've been a fine idea then and a horrible one today. Take, for example, *input*, which Quinn's review of *Webster's Ninth* dates from 1753 ["Lingo," *The Nation*, July 23-30]. There was nothing wrong with *input* in 1753; today, however, the word has computer science connotations and can tempt mischievous usages. I've heard local activists say they want "input into the decision-making process." Some activists! *Input* today implies mere data, supplied for mechanical, disinterested manipulation. The "decision-making process" is a human activity and a political activity, and in a political context the use of *input* is at best misleading. Sheep have input into the decision-making process of the shepherd; residents of B.F. Skinner's Walden Two have input into the decision-making processes of the Managers and Planners. Political activists usually want, or ought to want, *clout*.

Whether we spell *all right* as *all right* or *alright* (or say to hell with it and use *O.K.*) is usually a trivial matter; there's a big difference, though, between "I ordered" and "It

was ordered that," between *input* and *clout*.

Please continue Quinn's column, but before the end of 1984 *The Nation* should reprint George Orwell's "Politics and the English Language." Quinn is sensible and right and useful; Orwell is more right and still more useful.

Richard D. Erlich

## TOO CRUEL TO BE KIND

New York City

Why in the world does Alan Wolfe temper his praise for Seymour Hersh's *The Price of Power* with so much distemper ["Henry's Nemesis," *The Nation*, July 23-30]? Wolfe approaches this brilliant reportage, this splendid contribution to peace, with all the sympathy of a snake handler. Hersh "detests Kissinger with a venom that is Shakespearean in its intensity," but "I share his wrath." Hersh's "relentlessness, though, ultimately weakens his prosecutorial style, if not his case," whatever that means. Wolfe "was going to come down much harder on Hersh for his monomaniacal criticism," but then he read something awful in *The Atlantic* and decided that, after all, "the whole system still reeks as badly as it did when Hersh began to track Kissinger."

Wolfe concludes: "Hersh brilliantly describes the decrepitude of the American republic, but description is no substitute for explanation. Still, every Kissinger deserves a Hersh. Whatever faults I find with this book are more than balanced by the image I have of Kissinger gnashing his teeth as he reads it and realizes that while he might have charmed everyone else, there was one man he could never reach."

Only one? Could he reach Wolfe, or Stanley Hoffmann, who is praised by Wolfe and who wrote a similarly mean-spirited review for *The New York Times*?

Wolfe makes no serious effort to mine the Hersh book for its gold. He begins with a long excerpt from a minor anecdote: how Kissinger whipped up a crisis because he thought Cubans did not play soccer. Wolfe cites it to show that the book is "a bloodhound tracking Kissinger, sniffing his every statement, following his every move, and at pauses in the action, waiting, just waiting, for him to take the next step." One is about to sympathize with the quarry, but then Wolfe states that the book "will long serve as the official record of the major foreign policy atrocities of the Nixon years."

Wolfe has a point in citing Hersh's uncritical acceptance of some right-wing bureaucrats' complaints about Kissinger, but this should have been raised as a flaw in a masterpiece. For contrast, consider another review in the same issue, of a book by a neoconservative. The review disagrees with its theses, but gushes over its elegance of thought and style. Why do liberals feel it necessary to be gracious to their foes and nasty to their friends?

John L. Hess

# CONTENTS.

Volume 237, Number 5

## LETTERS

130

## EDITORIALS

- 129 Guatemala Reshuffles  
 129 *Minority Report* Christopher Hitchens  
 131 Awacs of August  
 132 Studds Comes Out  
 132 Cosmetic News  
 133 The Chicken Flap Brint Dillingham

## ARTICLES

- 135 The Mood in Havana:  
 Cuba Prepares for an Invasion Sidney Lens  
 137 Abortion Affirmed:  
 What Akron Does/Does Not Say Nan Hunter  
 139 Beyond "Waste Land" (II):  
 Strategies for a New Economy Robert Lekachman  
 Lynn Turgeon

Drawings by Bill Logan

- 141 Zapping the Workers:  
 Atari's Runaway Capitalism Dave Lindorff  
 143 Has He Made a Difference?:  
 The Ruckelshaus Cleaning at E.P.A. Jim Sibbison  
 146 Strings on Employee Giving:  
 The Charities of Reagan's Choice Timothy Saasta

## BOOKS & THE ARTS

- 148 D'Emilio: Sexual Politics,  
 Sexual Communities: The Making  
 Of a Homosexual Minority  
 In the United States, 1940-1970 George DeStefano  
 150 Two Poems Derek Walcott  
 151 Funkhouser: Natural Affinities  
 Gilbert: Bonfire  
 Goodman: Signal::Noise Clara Claiborne Park  
 153 Smith: Doctor Blues Blair T. Birmelin  
 154 Pentacostal Voice (poem) David Rosenberg  
 155 Films William Wolf

Editor, Victor Navasky

*Executive Editor*, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, Andrew Kopkind, Janet Gold (Copy); *Assistant Editor*, Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor*, Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Literary Editor*, Richard Kaye; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Assistant Copy Editors*, Judith Long, Art Winslow, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Editorial Secretary*, Louise Tallmer; *Interns*, Miriam Ascarelli, Rachel Asher, Lavea Brachman, Jerome Cobb, Stephen Freitag, Nicolas Gouede, Adam Gussow, Maria Margaronis. On leave, Kai Bird.

*Departments: Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Films*, Robert Hatch; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.*, Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America*, Penny Lerner; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *London*, Raymond Williams; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors*: Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board*: James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

*Manuscripts*: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

*Associate Publisher*, David Parker; *Advertising Manager*, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper*, Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager*, Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity*, Laurie Lipper; *Subscription Manager*, Patricia Peltekos; *Classified Advertising Manager*, George Monaco; *Receptionist*, Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates*, Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service*, Jeff Sorensen.

*The Nation* (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1983 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address*: Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

*Regular Subscription Price*: One year, \$35; two years, \$65; six months, \$17.50. Add \$7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; \$13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days of publication date; back issues available \$3 prepaid (\$4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation*, Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

# EDITORIALS.

## Awacs of August

"**C**had Inutile"—Useless Chad—was that northern part of the vast African country considered by French settlers to be totally without value for colonial purposes. In the south was the much smaller "Chad Utile," which was useful for growing cotton to feed French mills. In modern times, none of Chad (which is, all told, one-sixth as big as the contiguous United States) has been useful to anyone—not even to the Chad-

ians, who have no source of cash other than the meager cotton crop, which brings in only about \$10 million annually on the depressed world market. Consequently, Chad has a tiny per capita income and its population of 4.5 million suffers under one of the world's lowest standards of living.

Suddenly Chad is *utile*, although in a way that should make few of its inhabitants happy. President Reagan has made the desert wasteland a battleground of global power politics. He has invoked the War Powers Act, for the fourth time in his Administration, to send Awacs and fighter planes to Egypt and the Sudan as a counter to Libyan influ-

ence in a Chadian civil war which has been raging and sputtering for two decades.

Chad turns out to be useful to Reagan for several reasons, none of them having to do with the cotton crop. For one thing, it is the current corner of opportunity for picking a fight with Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, Reagan's favorite international sparring partner. Whenever the going gets rough in truly important areas of concern—Central America, for instance, or the Eastern Mediterranean—Reagan turns to Qaddafi-bashing. There was the dogfight over the Gulf of Sidra in August 1981, the bizarre episode of the Libyan hit squads in late 1981 and, a few months ago, the peculiar "threat" to the government of the Sudan which Reagan attributed to the sinister Qaddafi. When Central America became a sticky mess again for Washington schemers, Qaddafi was a logical target for alternative action.

For another thing, the situation in Chad gives the United States a chance to enlarge its military presence in North Africa. Egypt has turned into America's strategic partner in the region. It is also acting as a surrogate in Afghanistan (where it sends arms and aid to antigovernment rebels) and as a foil for Syria, which poses the principal opposition to Israeli military policies. Every exaggeration of the Libyan menace makes it easier for the Pentagon to broaden its influence in Egypt and the neighboring Sudan.

Finally, Chad is useful as a pretext for the United States to extend its political role in Africa. The breakup of the colonial empires on the continent created power vacuums that have never been filled. The British left Egypt and the Sudan vulnerable to greater empires, and the French are not able to keep full control of their former colonies. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson was more than a little miffed last week when he beheld Reagan racing into his sphere of influence without consultation or coordination.

Reagan keeps saying that he is acting in Africa to defeat Soviet imperialism as practiced by Moscow and by its client Qaddafi. In fact, the Chad brouhaha is a nasty bit of imperialism American-style, and although it is a small exercise in itself, it expresses an ominous theme of Reagan's foreign policy.

## Studds Comes Out

It seemed as if little valor or dignity could emerge from the House of Representatives' carefully staged display of scorn for Daniel B. Crane's and Gerry E. Studds's "sexual misconduct" involving two Congressional pages. Yet on August 7, after becoming the highest elected official ever to publicly declare his homosexuality, Studds returned to his Massachusetts district for the first time since his House censure and was greeted by a crowd of some 10,000 applauding people and cries of "We're still with you" and "Hang in there." It may turn out that Gerry Studds's decision to come out before Congress transformed a considerable political liability into an occasion of considerable daring.

The fact that the House censured one representative from each end of the political and sexual spectrums obscures the far more unfavorable political light in which Studds was cast. After all, for a congressman to acknowledge his homosexuality is a very different matter from admitting to an affair with a young woman. For most Americans, the first is a serious transgression of masculine normalcy, the second almost a definition of it. An antiabortionist and advocate of the infamous Squeal Rule (which required federally funded clinics to inform parents after their teen-age daughters had been given prescription birth control devices), the "pro-family" Crane has now been fairly exposed as a tried and true hypocrite. Studds, however, has proven himself to be a man of great eloquence and no little courage. Admitting that he had exercised bad judgment, he nonetheless refused to bow to the Ethics Committee's charade. As he insisted before the House, "The mutually voluntary, private relationship between adults . . . should not—by any conceivable standard of fairness, rationality, rule or law—warrant the attention or action of the House." Studds spoke of the complex and extraordinary challenges of being gay and a public official. If he had chosen to be politically shrewd, he might have dismissed his affair of ten years ago as a terrible and momentary aberration (much the way Representative Robert Bauman did in 1980). Instead, he used the House floor to defend a congressman's right to privacy—and to be openly homosexual.

## Cosmetic News

"I have a zit," pouted the actress playing a glamorous television newscaster in an episode of *Remington Steele*. "How can I be the city's most authoritative newsperson?" We quote from memory but the point should survive. The character and her remark were intended as a send-up of those "happy talk" local news shows that are designed by "media consultants" solely with ratings in mind. We were reminded of this scrap of dialogue by some of the testimony in the recent Christine Craft sex discrimination suit, which could have been incorporated into the *Remington Steele* script without interrupting the comedy.

The use of consultants by local television stations to cosmetize their news shows is well known by now. Still, the testimony at the Craft trial, in which she claimed she had been demoted from her job as anchorwoman at station KMBC-TV in Kansas City, Missouri, for reasons that had nothing to do with her competence, provide some fresh examples of the effects of the practice:

§ Craft said (and she was backed up by her male co-anchor) that she had been demoted because she was "too unattractive, too old and not deferential enough to men."

§ The station manager testified that while Craft was a skilled journalist, appearance was the most important criterion in choosing an anchorperson.

§ A researcher testing Craft's appeal with "focus

groups" elicited comments by exhortations like "Is she a mutt?" and "Let's spend thirty seconds destroying Chris Craft." A communications professor called the information produced by such surveys "backyard gossip."

§ Before taking the job, Craft told station officials that she did not want to be "made over," and they promised her they were not looking for just a "pretty face."

§ The station's media consultant testified that management wanted to replace Craft with a woman co-anchor who would bring "warmth and comfort" to the show.

The jury agreed with Craft's claim that she had been offered the job under the false pretense that she was being hired for her skills rather than for her looks, and awarded her \$375,000 in actual damages and \$125,000 in punitive damages. Strictly within the confines of the facts of this case, the verdict was a just one. The jury seemed to sense that Craft was removed from the anchor desk because she failed to live up to a sexual stereotype—an ideal of feminine appeal based on youth, beauty, "warmth and comfort," etc. There may be valid standards of appearance for television personalities, but criteria based on sexist (or racist or ageist) stereotypes should not be condoned. Although the jury also issued an advisory verdict of sex discrimination, the case dealt with Craft's contract. The jury evidently believed that management violated that contract and demoted Craft on sexist grounds. Such conduct would contravene public policy embodied in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, under which female flight attendants successfully challenged the airlines' right to demote them after they reach a certain age. The point is that the practice of hiring women—usually in publicly visible jobs—solely on grounds of youth and sex appeal treats them as commodities and sets irrelevant and discriminatory qualifications for these jobs.

To be sure, male newscasters are often hired for their haircuts and fired for their jowls. Television newscasters of both sexes, especially on local stations, are frequently chosen for extraneous reasons of viewer chemistry rather than for their journalistic credentials. In the Craft case, if one accepts her version of the story, as the jury did, it is clear she was demoted because she did not live up to non-journalistic standards of feminine attractiveness, youth and deference to men.

Presumably television stations have a right to hire a Brooke Shields type to read the news, and to fire her if she breaks out in zits. But when they play the cosmetics game, they should not be allowed to say that their reasons for hiring or firing are other than skin-deep, i.e., discriminatory.

## COMING UP

The F.B.I. and Albert Einstein:  
What the Files Reveal

By Richard Alan Schwartz

# The Chicken Flap

A wire service report hidden in the back pages of *The New York Times* may foretell the key issues in the next round of the great debate on national defense and security issues:

LANGLEY, Va., June 8 (UPI)—Officials at Langley Air Force Base said today that a cannon that hurls dead chickens at airplanes at 700 miles an hour is helping to reduce accidents caused by jets hitting birds. Maj. Dennis Funnemark said the device, called a chicken gun, was a converted 20-foot cannon that shoots 4-pound chickens into engines, windshields and landing gear to determine how much damage such collisions can cause.

Those who are easily gulled (and what is a more appropriate audience for an article on this subject) may see this as purely an air-safety issue. I am somewhat more suspicious (some say I'm paranoid and see a plot in every chicken). I say that the involvement of the Air Force as well as the cannon clearly makes this a national defense and security issue which raises a host of questions. The debate on this chicken gun project will shape up roughly as follows:

(1) Congressional budget cutters will charge that this is just the latest example of chicanery in the defense procurement system. President Reagan will counter that the amount being spent on the project is "mere chicken feed." As Reagan warms to the fight, he will appoint Vice President Bush to oversee lobbying efforts. For his pains, Bush will become known as "Chicken George."

(2) Doing his part to save the chicken gun, the Secretary of the Air Force will capitalize on the striking image of poultry-filled cannons being fired at test planes. Stealing a march on the Army, as it were, he will change the Air Force song to "As the Capons Go Rolling Along."

(3) As the chicken gun debate reaches the broiling point, President Reagan will designate a special office in the military bureaucracy to coordinate lobbying efforts with Bush. This office will be called the "Hentagon." Certain generals will conspire to shake up the Hentagon in order to advance themselves in the military pecking order. This conspiracy, once revealed, will become known as "the palace coop."

(4) A progressive coalition will be set up in a small Northeastern state with the express purpose of educating the public on the evils of the chicken gun. Reagan will smear its members as "Rhode Island Reds." Jane Fonda will organize another coalition against the chicken gun, and will exhort its members to "exorcise the evil spirit of militarism symbolized by this fowl weapon." Her book about this campaign will be titled *Jane Fonda's Exorcise Book*.

(5) Entrepreneurs will waste little time in taking advantage of the project's notoriety. Cluck-Man, a video game featuring the chicken gun, will be marketed. The manufacturer will be so successful that *The Wall Street Journal* will run a story headlined "Chicken Cash Atari." BRINT DILLINGHAM

*Brint Dillingham is a legal investigator in the Washington, D.C., area.*

# MINORITY REPORT.

## The Selling

(Continued From Front Cover)

the U.S. government, which is the historic and the current patron of dictatorship in the region? Arguably not. The authors of the document seem to sense this, because they make only perfunctory references to democracy before going on to the refugee question. Here, they feel they are on firmer ground—scaring Americans with frankly racist images of an influx of Hispanics. One wonders why there has been no mass exodus from Nicaragua since the revolution, and why it is that the streams of refugees from El Salvador are running from their own government. One wonders in vain, since the document doesn't consider those questions. Having elided or evaded every intellectual problem of any complexity, it concludes with a blast on the bullshit horn: "We have a vital interest, a moral duty, and a solemn responsibility."

The other documents in this series are addressed to specific interest groups. Whittlesey does, in her rather seedy way, have an understanding of pluralism. There are efforts to mobilize chambers of commerce. "Every businessman who asks me about natural gas or consumer product safety," she says, "I ask to help us on Central America." That doesn't sound, for a start, like very good news for consumer product safety. But there's more. Custom-made papers for Catholics and evangelicals are in preparation. The International Longshoremen's Association, famous for its staunch attachment to trade union democracy, has been personally addressed by the President on the state of Nicaraguan labor. No doubt the teamsters will get a briefing of their own. The Reaganistas, too, want to "have it all ways."

I thought I would focus on the thorniest White House/Whittlesey paper, the one that is addressed to American Jews. The document is dated July 20, 1983. It states plainly on the first page that the Sandinists are "anti-Semitic." The level of evidence resembles that of Claire Sterling or Arnaud de Borchgrave on a bad day. There is even a lurid diagram showing Yasir Arafat at the center of the time-honored web. The threads emanating from his sinister headdress stretch as far as the "USA Black Panthers" and the darkly significant "San Salvador Underground Movements." They embrace defunct outfits such as the Turkish Popular Liberation Army and the Tupamaros, as well as fighting forces such as the Eritrean Liberation Front (I thought we thought they were good guys now). There is no date on the diagram, but it looks like a superannuated handout from Accuracy in Media or the John Birch Society. Your tax dollars at work.

The Sandinist movement has, of course, always had close and public relations with the Palestinians. The Somoza government, for its part, always had warm relations with Israel, which armed its National Guard (just as it now helps the regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador). The Middle East question, then, has been bizarrely imported into the

isthmus by exogenous policy battles. And the White House, which knows that the American Jewish community is an important and sensitive one, has not hesitated to wield the broad brush. It seems to have attracted the support of Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal, head of the Latin American Affairs Department of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League. In a statement released along with the document, Rosenthal said that the Sandinists are anti-Israel abroad and *therefore* anti-Semitic at home. He represents a sizable political catch for Whittlesey.

What is the worst that can be said of the Nicaraguan revolution in this respect? It confiscated the property of, among other businessmen, Abraham Gorn and Isaac Stavisky, both Jewish and neither of them strangers to the *ancien régime*. Gorn's properties included a building that had been used as a synagogue. The confiscation was not undertaken with conspicuous tact. And the Nicaraguan press (to be exact, *El Nuevo Diario*) has on occasion, rather like Menachem Begin, identified Zionism with Judaism in a careless and demagogic manner.

In reply to charges of anti-Semitism, the Sandinists say the following. There are several ministers of Jewish descent in their government: Carlos Tunnerman, Minister of Education; Renaldo Antonio Tefel, Minister of Social Welfare; Herty Lewites, Minister of Tourism; Enrique Schmidt, Minister of Telecommunications; and Father Ernesto Cardenal, Minister of Culture. That does not in itself disprove anti-Semitism, because none of those named are practicing Jews and some are devout Catholics. But it scarcely suggests that the *contras* (many of them *real* fascists) are fighting to stop a pogrom. Nor has there been any serious allegation that the confiscation of Somocista property is a punishment reserved for Jews. A report by the Central American Historical Institute in Washington has looked carefully at the charges of bigotry and found no government policy of anti-Semitism.

Nonetheless, the charges should not be totally dismissed. It would be surprising if, in a strongly Catholic country which had suffered greatly from the promiscuity of Israeli arms sales, there was not a current of anti-Semitism and a suggestion of that old enemy "the socialism of fools." No friend of Nicaragua can be indifferent to stupidity and cruelty of that kind, and the left should take an enhanced interest in the Sandinist government's treatment of Jews. **But**, just for a second, look who's talking. The White House defends the regimes in Paraguay, Argentina and Chile, which harbor ex-Nazis and even employ them. It was the protector of the government that sheltered Klaus Barbie. The Salvadoran military is well known for its addiction to the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. And wasn't it the Anti-Defamation League that told Jacobo Timerman to keep his voice down? The Reagan team's vulgar exploitation of this issue, when it is seeking not to reform a government but to overthrow it, is a classic example of what its most aggressive and cynical member, Jeane Kirkpatrick, once called "Dictatorships and Double Standards."

# ARTICLES.

## ■ THE MOOD IN HAVANA

# Cuba Prepares For an Invasion

*This report is based on a trip made several weeks ago, and we have not attempted to update it to reflect recent diplomatic moves.*  
—The Editors

SIDNEY LENS

Havana

Last month, as Cuba began its celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of Fidel Castro's attack on the Moncada Barracks, there was more than the usual concern about an invasion by the United States. President Reagan had just announced plans to dispatch an armada toward the Nicaraguan coasts and to conduct war games in Honduras near the Nicaraguan border. Both military exercises were obviously intended to send threatening signals to Cuba as well as to the Sandinists in Nicaragua and the guerrillas in El Salvador.

In late June, the Cuban government conducted a military exercise of its own, called "Bastion '83," which was designed to beef up the island's defenses against an American assault. No one here thinks such an attack is imminent, but no one rules it out either. The Cubans see several possible scenarios.

If the Salvadoran government's military hold deteriorates under a guerrilla advance, Reagan might dispatch a combat force to make the country safe for American interests. At the same time, he might order strikes against the guerrillas' neighboring ally, Nicaragua, as well as mine its harbors and blockade its ports. Cuba says such moves would constitute an act of war.

Or, if the U.S.-backed *contras* operating out of Honduras begin to inflict serious damage in Nicaragua, the Sandinists might decide to take offensive action, such as pursuing the attackers to their Honduran hide-outs. There, they might clash with U.S. troops currently stationed at airfields and bases. In the ensuing conflict, the Cubans might feel compelled to give military support to the Nicaraguans—and prepare to suffer U.S. attacks on their homeland.

The depth of Cuba's fears was conveyed to me recently by Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Ricardo Alarcon. According to Alarcon, the United States has been at war with Cuba ever since Washington broke diplomatic relations with Havana in 1961. A year later the United States backed the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion, and in October 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis, it threatened to blow Cuba (and a good part of the rest of the world) off the map.

*Sidney Lens's latest book is The Maginot Line Syndrome: America's Hopeless Foreign Policy (Ballinger Books).*

As further evidence of U.S. belligerence Alarcon points to the many attempts by the Central Intelligence Agency to assassinate Castro, Reagan's harsh rhetoric at the February 1982 meeting of the Organization of American States and the 450 fighter-bombers deployed by the United States near Cuban territory, as well as to Washington's twenty-two-year-old economic embargo against Cuba.

Cuban officials believe that Washington has been waging chemical and biological war against their country. They charge that the C.I.A. infected Cuban pigs with African swine fever in the early 1970s and again in the early 1980s. They accuse the United States of introducing mosquitoes that carry bleeding dengue into Cuba in 1981. As a result, they say, hundreds of thousands became ill and 150 died of the disease.

The Cubans may be exaggerating, but Alarcon explains that Washington's policy of counterrevolution requires that it make Cuba the prime target of its hostility in the hemisphere. "As long as the Reagan Administration sees itself as the gendarme of Latin America," he says, "it will of necessity have to use us as the whipping boy for what it is doing. . . . They have to charge us with exporting revolution in order to justify their own espousal of counterrevolution in such places as Nicaragua and Salvador. It is aimed at giving their activities a semblance of legitimacy."

Alarcon sees little hope for normal relations between his country and the United States. He believes war between the two nations may come if the revolutionary fever continues to spread from Central America to countries like Chile and



DRAWINGS BY BILL LOGAN

Argentina, because Washington clearly thinks that the root of its troubles in Latin America is not in San Salvador, Managua or Santiago but in Havana.

In a speech in Havana a few months ago, John Ferch, head of the U.S. Interest Section here, charged that the Cuban doctrine of "internationalism" has made it "a real or potential threat to the domestic social order of almost every state in the Americas and even beyond." He blamed the breach between the two countries on Cuba's "promotion of revolution in conjunction with its alignment with the Soviet Union," and asserted that this was not "compatible with international law, which obliges states to avoid armed intervention and other activities aimed at the overthrow of the government of another state."

In rebuttal to the charge that it is exporting revolution, Alarcon says that revolutions are caused by internal conditions—by poverty and hunger. "They cannot be imported or exported," he says. "Only counterrevolution can be exported, and the United States is a master at that."

Cuba makes no bones of its allegiance to the doctrine of internationalism; it certainly carries it out with greater fervor than any other Communist state. But as Alarcon puts it, Cuba generally supports revolutionary movements after they have come to power, or when they are jeopardized by outside interference. He cites the dispatch of Cuban troops to Angola in 1975, after it achieved independence from Portugal. Those troops—now 20,000 strong—would not have been sent, he says, if South Africa had not invaded Angola. Alarcon also cites Cuba's involvement in Ethiopia after the present revolutionary government took power. Apart from that, Cuba's activity abroad has been limited to humanitarian and economic endeavors. There are 2,000 Cuban teachers and economic technicians in Nicaragua, and Cuban medical teams are training doctors and health workers in seventy countries. The Cubans do get around, and they do espouse revolution, but they do not export a product that, in Latin America at any rate, is invariably home-grown.

Washington does not agree with Alarcon's assessment of Cuba's international role. Cuban leaders thus have good reason to fear that unless the American people can stay the hand of the Reagan Administration—or world events, such as a disintegration of the Western alliance, intervene—the United States will provoke a war with Cuba. The Cubans are not worried about their ability to defeat the U.S. garrison at Guantanamo Bay, nor do they believe the United States would be foolhardy enough to launch another Bay of Pigs invasion using counterrevolutionary groups recruited in Miami. Cuba's military forces, consisting of 225,000 regular troops, 120,000 reservists and a half-million troops in the territorial militia, could deal with any such threat. But taking on the Pentagon would be another matter entirely.

The Administration's policy of "containing" Cuba by military intimidation is actually increasing the likelihood of war between the two nations. A peaceful policy would encourage changes in Cuban society beneficial to the Cuban people. If the U.S. military threat was eased, the Cuban government could begin reducing the size of its own military

machine and funneling hundreds of millions of pesos into the manufacture of consumer goods and expanded social programs. If the embargo was lifted, access to American markets would enable Cuba to earn the hard currency it needs to buy machinery. The standard of living would go up (American sources here estimate that without the embargo, it would be 50 percent higher), and the government could relax its present tight controls on political dissent.

It is true that Cuban communism is looser, less rigid, than communism in any other country. The Communist Party, the trade union confederation, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the local and national assemblies established in the last decade under the term "popular power" permit a considerable amount of discussion. But they do not permit *organized* dissent. The state punishes those who talk of overthrowing the government, but it does not insist that everyone be pro-government.

"We are a humanist society," a leading scientist told me. "But we are also a nation at war. We would like to have the kind of dissent where two groups challenge each other ideologically, and where all things are discussed. We know that is necessary for our own future development. But we are under siege."

Despite its many faults, the Cuban government has accomplished much in the past twenty-four years. Cuba is one of the most egalitarian societies in the world: an unskilled worker makes a minimum of 100 pesos a month; a Cabinet minister makes only 450 or 500 pesos. All medical care is free. An Ecuadorean diplomat attending a health conference here in early July told me that "Cuba has done more for health than any other developing country. It is a model. It has licked its major medical problems." Those sentiments were echoed by two representatives of British pharmaceutical companies with whom I spoke.

The government has reduced the illiteracy rate from 20 percent of the population to virtually zero; now almost all Cubans receive at least a sixth-grade education. The number of grammar school and high school students has more than doubled since the revolution; the number of university students—who are picked on merit and pay no tuition—has increased tenfold.

The government has built hundreds of thousands of houses—they are particularly noticeable in the hinterlands—which are made available free of charge or are rented for an amount that does not exceed 10 percent of the tenant's annual income. Nonetheless, the government admits that the nation's housing situation is abysmal. Food and clothing have recently become more plentiful, however, especially in the "parallel stores," where the government sells some goods at near black market prices. The diet of the average Cuban is monotonous but adequate (there is little meat, for example, although alternate sources of protein, such as fish and eggs, are in good supply), and food is equitably distributed.

In the past two decades, the improvement in the Cuban people's standard of living has been pronounced, and econ-

omists here claim that if social benefits like education, housing and medical care are counted as income, Cubans have the highest standard of living in Latin America, with the possible exception of urban areas in Argentina and Uruguay. During the 1960s, living standards rose less than 2 percent a year; the current rate is 5 percent.

Economic planning has proved effective in Cuba. Many factories have been built, and the government is beginning to construct sugar mills and manufacture the machinery used in them, rather than depend on the Soviet bloc nations. Other economic achievements include the installation of a coaxial cable, which will increase telephonic communication manyfold when it is finished in 1985, and a railroad, now nearing completion, with a roadbed capable of bearing trains traveling at speeds of more than 100 miles an hour (the first locomotives will be capable of only 70 miles an hour, however). Looking to the future, Cuban planners are preparing for the long-term decline in the world demand for sugar by developing a sugar byproduct industry. This industry is already a significant factor in the economy, turning out paper, bagasse for fuel, high-protein chicken feed, synthetic wood, ammonia and molasses.

All these achievements would be jeopardized by war with the United States. Thus the Washington litany "Cuba is exporting revolution" has sinister overtones. If Reagan decides to attack the evil at its source, the results would be catastrophic for the Cuban people and for the people of the developing world who look to Cuba as a model. The morning after the Bastion '83 exercises in preparation for a possible U.S. invasion, I heard a little girl with tears streaming down her face ask her mother, a university professor, "Mama, why doesn't America leave us alone?" The Administration's military moves in the region make her question one that all of us should be asking. □

## ■ ABORTION AFFIRMED

# What Akron Does/ Does Not Say

NAN HUNTER

**I**n June, the Supreme Court announced its most important rulings on abortion since *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision which first recognized a constitutional right to abortion. The Court, in three new decisions, declared unconstitutional laws designed to intimidate women from having abortions and doctors from performing them. In *City of Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*, the most important of the opinions, the Court's 6-to-3 majority made clear that the right to abortion includes the practical right of access to abortion services without interference from the state.

*Nan Hunter is a lawyer with the Reproductive Freedom Project of the American Civil Liberties Union.*

## NO TO AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Reagan Administration is adding another ignominious chapter to the long history of United States intervention and counterrevolutionary subversion in Central and South America. Increasingly aware that the insurgents in El Salvador cannot be defeated by a poorly motivated army and a business-military oligarchy with little or no control over death squads that have killed thousands of innocent Salvadorans, the White House and the Pentagon have evidently decided that a large part of the solution to this and other related problems in Central America lies in the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government. The Reagan Administration's strategy rests on the premise that the overthrow of the Sandinists by ex-Somocista National Guardsmen will bring about the establishment of a "democratic" but strongly anti-Communist regime in Managua. With the Sandinists out of the way, the rebel forces in El Salvador, deprived of their main source of arms, would be compelled to accept "free" elections on American terms. But the real thrust of this strategy, even more than anti-Sandinist, appears to be anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban. President Reagan persists in ascribing the political and social aspirations of the Sandinists and the fighting will of guerrillas in El Salvador to Soviet and Cuban plots. Such reasoning is, in our view, as simplistic as it is deceitful. It is also dangerous and threatens to extend, not limit, military conflict in Central America.

The nature and extent of Nicaraguan aid to the revolutionary forces in El Salvador (little proof has been forthcoming to indicate that such aid has been very significant), and the question of when and how the Sandinists and the Nicaraguan people as a whole choose to apply *their own* deeply felt and hard-won ideas about socialism and democracy, are matters on which honest differences of opinion can and do exist. But it is our firm conviction that the threats of quarantine and blockade, the planned dispatching of up to 4,000 American troops for "maneuvers" in Honduras, the training and money being given by the C.I.A. to bands of *contras* who continue to harass and to murder Nicaraguan farmers, are especially ugly examples of American imperialist arrogance. We have come to the conclusion that it is our duty, as American citizens moved by an elementary sense of decency and international justice, to protest the present policy of the Reagan Administration toward Nicaragua, and to declare our opposition to any attempts to destabilize the Nicaraguan government. We intend to do everything in our power to oppose current U.S. policies in Central America. We appeal to all like-minded people to make their feelings known in a visible and forthright manner.

### Signers \*

Prof. Stanley Aronowitz, CUNY Graduate Center  
Prof. Michael Brown, Queens College and CUNY Graduate Center  
Prof. Stephen Brunner, Rutgers University  
Prof. Raymond S. Franklin, Queens College and CUNY Graduate Center  
Ms. Rosanna Giammanzo, Queens College and US Friends of Comiso  
Mr. John Gunn, CUNY Graduate Center  
Prof. Joel Rogers, Rutgers University  
Prof. Frank Rosengarten, Queens College and US Friends of Comiso  
The Rev. Tony Watkins, Clergy and Laity Concerned  
Prof. Michael Wreszin, Queens College and CUNY Graduate Center

\* Institutional affiliations for identification purposes only

For information on possible actions, contact the CUNY Committee Against US Intervention in Latin America, Room 208, 33 W. 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036, (212) 790-4448.

*Akron* was a big defeat for right-to-life groups, which had succeeded in getting twenty-five states to pass similar laws restricting access to abortions. The Akron law singled out abortion for a variety of restrictions not imposed on any other medical procedure. It called for a twenty-four-hour waiting period and ordered doctors to recite a list of distorted warnings about the procedure to all patients. It also required that abortions past the first trimester be performed in a hospital. (By contrast, there is no hospitalization requirement for childbirth.) The antiabortionist groups were joined by the Reagan Administration, which filed an amicus brief in the *Akron* case, urging that the Court defer to policies set by state and local legislative bodies in a "sensitive" area like abortion.

What is the meaning and effect of *Akron*? Here are some of the questions generated by the decision:

#### § Does Akron expand abortion rights?

Yes and no. Primarily, the decision reaffirmed the principles of *Roe v. Wade*, in which the Court held that "an individual's freedom of personal choice in matters of marriage and family life, . . . [is] a long recognized and essential element of personal liberty."

The real impact of *Akron* is not so much that it expanded abortion rights as that it showed the failure of the right wing's massive assault on those principles. For several years, conservatives have used their demands in Congress for "court stripping"—removing such matters as abortion, busing and school prayer from the jurisdiction of Federal courts—as a way to implicitly threaten the Court either to cut back on abortion rights or to see its power in the federalist system diminished. Merely by surviving in the face of such attacks, *Roe v. Wade* has been strengthened.



#### § How did Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's dissent differ from the majority opinion?

O'Connor's dissent would have allowed any restriction on abortion that amounted to less than a total prohibition. It would have allowed states to claim a compelling interest in protecting the fetus throughout pregnancy, rather than only after the point of viability (approximately the beginning of the third trimester), which is the *Roe v. Wade* rule. And it would have done away with the trimester system the Court adopted in *Roe v. Wade*. Had the O'Connor dissent, which refers to the "limited nature of the fundamental right that has been recognized in the abortion cases," been the majority opinion, it would have overruled *Roe v. Wade* for all practical purposes.

#### § Will Akron help only doctors?

After the decision, right-to-lifers argued that women "need" laws like the Akron ordinance, and that declaring them unconstitutional benefits only doctors. But although the Court in *Akron* allowed physicians to retain control of the medical aspects of abortion, it actually lessened the emphasis from *Roe v. Wade* on how crucial a doctor's judgment is in determining whether a woman should have an abortion. *Akron* made clear that the decision to have an abortion must be made by the woman, not by a doctor-patient "unit." The doctor's role, the Court explained, lies in "assisting the woman in the decision-making process and implementing her decision should she choose abortion."

The restrictive law struck down had made it a crime for a doctor to perform an abortion without going through many hoops. Although the goal was to frighten both patients and doctors, the burdens fell primarily on women seeking abortions. For example, the requirement that all second-trimester abortions be performed in hospitals doubled the cost of such abortions and was designed to curtail access to them, but it could have financially benefited the medical profession. Likewise, the "informed consent" requirement forced doctors to tell patients that a fetus is a human life and to describe a number of highly unlikely complications. Although it is clearly wrong to force doctors to convey misinformation, the deeper wrong is that women might be intimidated from having abortions.

*Akron* also held that a state could not require that physicians provide all abortion counseling. In most abortion clinics, basic medical information and emotional support is provided by nonphysician counselors. The Court agreed with the argument that such counseling is as good as that which could be provided by physicians. "The critical factor is whether [a woman] obtains the necessary information and counseling from a qualified person, not the identity of the person from whom she obtains it," the Court wrote.

But the Court specifically reaffirmed a 1975 decision allowing a state to require that all abortions be performed by physicians. The Court made clear that "accepted medical practice" is the touchstone for evaluating whether laws regulating abortion are designed to protect the woman's health. Allowing the medical profession to determine the standards for women's health care was, in the short term, a

necessary tactic to win the case. In the long term, the women's movement is likely to fight to legitimize more community control and less professional control of health care.

§ *What is the legal status of the fetus?*

*Akron* does not affect the legal status of the fetus established by *Roe v. Wade*. The decision reaffirmed that the state does not have a compelling interest—that is, compelling enough to impose restrictions on the availability of abortion—in the fetus before the point of viability. The Court pointedly rejected arguments for extending the state's interest in the fetus to include the entire pregnancy.

Abortion rights activists have long taken the position that the state's interest in the fetus should begin at birth, an argument which was rejected in *Roe v. Wade*. For the past ten years, however, they have had to defend the principles of fetal life set forth in that decision against attacks by the right-to-life movement. While it is important that *Roe v. Wade* has been reaffirmed, its reasoning should not define the boundaries of a feminist vision of abortion rights.

§ *Where does the law stand concerning minors?*

*Akron* does not change the abortion rights of minors. In 1979, the Supreme Court ruled that a state could require parental consent for minors who want to have abortions only if it provided an alternative to parental consent. On the same day *Akron* was decided, the Court upheld a parental consent requirement in Missouri. Several states now have laws requiring either parental consent or parental notification, with the additional proviso that a minor may go to a local court for permission instead of to her parents.

The Supreme Court reaffirmed that a minor must be allowed to secure a confidential court order permitting her to have an abortion if she is mature enough to make that decision on her own or if an abortion would be in her best interest. In practice, this procedure has been extremely burdensome and traumatic for many young women, and no doubt has discouraged many from exercising their rights.

§ *What about abortions for poor women?*

The Court's recent rulings do not affect the abortion rights of poor women. Under a 1980 decision upholding the Hyde Amendment, which excludes abortion from Medicaid reimbursement, the Federal government can deny public funding for abortions. There are only fifteen states where funding is provided by state law. The sensitivity shown in *Akron* to the impact of state-created costs on women's access to abortion contrasts sharply with the 1980 ruling that the government has no duty to pay for abortions when the market cost might be prohibitive. Thus, a two-class system for abortion seems cemented in national policy—one for the poor, the other for women who can afford to pay.

§ *What abortion rights issues remain undecided?*

On the national level, there will be more attempts to pass a constitutional amendment banning abortions. The Hatch/Eagleton amendment was defeated in the Senate at the end of June, but other prohibitions on abortion will be

introduced in years to come. Any use of public money for abortion services or research will be under attack. In addition, state legislatures will be pressured to pass resolutions calling for a constitutional convention. Such a convention would have the authority to consider all constitutional rights, including the right to abortion.

More states are likely to pass parental consent laws. Right-to-lifers have proposed laws requiring that husbands be notified when their wives seek abortions. Legislation has been introduced in many states that would require insurance companies to charge an additional fee for abortion coverage. Finally, there has been a recent spate of "feticide" laws, which make destroying a fetus the equivalent of killing a person. Although these laws exempt abortion, they criminalize all other acts that lead to the death of a fetus. In situations in which a pregnant woman is assaulted and the fetus dies, it is important to frame the issue as a crime against the woman, not against the fetus.

The *Akron* decision is a significant victory in the larger struggle to end the oppression of women. If the dissenters had been the majority, their opinion would have meant fewer legal abortions, more illegal and unsafe abortions and an enormous financial hardship for millions of women. It would also have been a devastating political blow, signaling that women were unable to sustain even the most basic right to control their own lives. The challenge of winning will be not only to defend its scope but also to extend its scope to poor women and minors. □

## ■ BEYOND 'WASTE LAND' (II)

# Strategies for A New Economy

*This is the second in a series of comments on the article by Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf in our June 4 issue.*

—The Editors

## ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Since I agree with the thrust of Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf's warning on the dangers of industrial policy, I shall comment mostly on its political implications. In politics, as in physics, nature abhors a vacuum. As the silly 1984 Presidential season looms ominously larger, Democratic contenders are groping for plausible programs. All of the Small Six now officially declared, with the exception of Walter Mondale, have junked full employment, tax reform, national health insurance, public housing and the remainder of the Great Society agenda as too expensive, too bureaucratic and,

*Robert Lekachman, a member of The Nation's editorial board, is a contributor to the forthcoming Pantheon volume Solutions, edited by Irving Howe.*

worst of all, too inflationary. Implicitly these Democrats have accepted the neoconservative critique of a half-century of liberal social policy.

Still, it would hardly do for them to embrace Reaganomics. The voters might decide to stick with the original model. Enter, just in time, industrial policy. Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf accurately identify as its distinguishing feature the recognition that private markets frequently fail—even (sometimes especially) from the standpoint of the huge banks and proliferating multinational corporations that play dominant roles in this conservative polity. The daily-demonstrated ability of their Japanese financial and industrial counterparts to target American markets and vanquish the natives may or may not testify to the wisdom of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, but Japanese success almost surely has something to do with corporations even more powerful and unions even more acquiescent than the American versions.

For sophisticated corporate types, the most important Japanese lesson concerns corporate-government relationships. Here at home, business attitudes toward Washington have traditionally been schizoid, hostile when the going is good and supplicatory in times of adversity. In the tough international competition of the 1980s, hostility is an expensive luxury, as at least some American industries, notably steel and auto, have reluctantly begun to realize. It speaks, in fact, a misinterpretation of American reality. Except in rare periods of severe economic disarray, American corporations and their political and media allies dominate the political process, run regulatory agencies, set Congressional agendas and determine the allocation of Pentagon contracts, outright subsidies and tax remissions. For a very long time indeed, this has been our undeclared industrial policy. Nothing but ideological atavism prevents the open enlistment of government as a full-time partner in the junior role to which Japanese politicians are habituated.

As a bow to the values of pluralism, it seems sensible to the corporations to continue to co-opt trade unions, which are desperate to preserve jobs, and force them into a still more subordinate slot in the common enterprise. Who speaks for minorities and the poor? As Malthus noted in one of his gaudier rhetorical flourishes, at nature's great table, no places are set for some. Vicarious self-sacrifice is the fashion. *Business Week's* prescription excludes, for good measure, environmentalists and consumerists.

At its worst, then, industrial policy translates into a more intelligent and more coherent pursuit of supply-side objectives. At its best, it is comprehensive democratic planning for human needs à la Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf. In between are the Robert Reichs and Lester Thurows, whose definitions of partnership envision equality among business, labor and government. Reich explicitly ties business benefits to corporate social performance in the interests of workers and communities.

My typology implies a political strategy for members of the lonely left. We should never cease to remind ourselves, and anyone who will listen, of the need to restructure America as an economic and political democracy. Alas, our fellow citizens have other things on their minds. Simultane-

ously, therefore, we should rescue full employment and comprehensive health care as immediate objectives and push Democrats (Republicans are utterly hopeless) toward the most progressive version possible of industrial policy.

The dilemma is familiar: Does it really make any difference who among the current contenders occupies the White House after 1984? If one thinks it does, as in some moods I do, then a tolerable form of centrist industrial policy just might represent a milestone on the path to genuine economic democracy. □

## LYNN TURGEON

**B**eyond the Waste Land is a blockbuster reminiscent of *Monopoly Capital*, Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy's *magnum opus*. But where Baran and Sweezy employed Marxist analysis in their devastating attack on the waste of the advanced capitalist system, Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf use the techniques of mainstream economics to lay bare the underlying causes of the Great Stagflation, which began in 1979. Their approach might best be described as institutionalist, populist and pragmatic.

Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf estimate that almost half of America's gross national product is squandered on military expenditures, unnecessary distribution costs and "reasonable featherbedding"—the bloated corporate supervisory structure. This covert waste, in addition to the growing overt underutilization of human resources, underscores the irrelevance of the popular "no free lunch" and "zero-sum game" schools of economics.

The authors correctly pinpoint 1966 as the watershed year in contemporary U.S. economic history. Confidence in the magic of the New Economics of Walter Heller et al. was peaking. According to the conventional wisdom of the time, the government's fine-tuning of the economy had, for all intents and purposes, eliminated the business cycle. The chief concern of fiscal planners would henceforth be devising new, productive ways of spending government revenues, which were increasing as the country neared full employment.

Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf argue that the "recession of 1966, which most corporations eagerly anticipated and sorely needed, never happened." The fact is, however, that there was a recession, in 1967. The Fed tightened controls in December 1965, producing the "monetary crunch" of 1966. Shortly thereafter, President Johnson's fine-tuners tightened fiscal policy by transforming the withholding tax from a flat 14 percent to a progressive rate and by eliminating the investment tax credit for several months at the end of 1966. Despite the upsurge of Vietnam War spending, economic growth ground to a halt in the first six months of 1967. It was the first mini-recession in U.S. postwar history. (Coincidentally, the West German economy experienced its first postwar recession in 1966 and 1967, the earliest indication of the synchronization of business fluctuations in the advanced capitalist system.)

Lynn Turgeon is the author of *The Advanced Capitalist System* (M.E. Sharpe).

Debate over the "missed recession" of 1966 notwithstanding, there was a qualitative change in the U.S. economy from 1966 to 1973, as the authors show: increases in labor productivity (which had averaged 3.8 percent annually from 1961 to 1965, the golden years of the New Economics) dropped precipitously; real wages stagnated; profits were squeezed; and the causes of inflation began to shift from the demand side of the market to the supply side. Nixon's devaluation of the dollar offered only a brief respite from the downswing.

The drastic decline in labor productivity growth has puzzled mainstream economists for some time. Using multivariate regression analysis, Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf attribute most of the 1966-73 decline to "diminishing work intensity." For the even sharper 1973-79 decline, their analysis gives equal weight to five factors: decreasing capital intensity, capacity utilization, work intensity and innovative pressure, and increasing popular resistance to greater work demands.

Capacity utilization is more important in explaining sluggish labor productivity than has generally been assumed. Capacity utilization rates peaked in 1966 and became progressively lower as the Vietnam War ground on. Twice in the 1970s the Fed decided to "adjust" (i.e., inflate) the official rates; thus the real underutilization of capital since 1966 has no doubt been greater than the statistics indicate. Had the data not been adjusted, those who try to make the case for the so-called capital, or investment, shortage and who advance the notorious "crowding-out" hypothesis would find their going even tougher. In any event, the authors deftly dispose of both of these falsehoods.

This message is particularly important for those seeking an alternative economic program. The Democrats now seem to be leaning toward what the authors label a "corporatist solution." According to economists from Felix Rohatyn to Lester Thurow, resources must be diverted from consumption to investment, and an investment policy must be devised. Again to the credit of Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf, they recognize that strategy to be almost as wrongheaded as the notions of monetarists and supply-siders. It has been the investment worshipers—from Walter Heller (the first self-acknowledged supply-side economist, who introduced the investment tax credit) to the current crop of Reaganites—who have brought the U.S. economy to its present impasse.

The only viable alternative to Republican or mainstream Democratic trickle-down economics, the authors say, is one based on increasing workers' income. That would involve a government commitment to a full employment target of 2 percent unemployment; a permanent price-stabilization apparatus; the elimination of the profit motive from the defense industry; direct government supervision of energy production and distribution; and the democratization of the Federal Reserve System, whose board members would be selected by the House of Representatives every four years. In short, Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf advocate higher wages and lower returns on capital. As they point out, a majority of Americans would most likely support such a populist program. The critical question is whether the Democrats are receptive to changing the direction of their economic policy 180 degrees.

## ■ ZAPPING THE WORKERS

# Atari's Runaway Capitalism

DAVE LINDORFF

*San Jose, Calif.*

When Jodie Gray hears politicians talk about retraining blue-collar workers for "high-tech" jobs, she laughs bitterly. Her retraining was a cruel joke. Gray, 25, was one of the 6,500 auto workers who lost their jobs last year when General Motors shut down its assembly plant in Fremont, California, at the northern end of the high-technology region known as Silicon Valley. Like many displaced workers, she retrained herself and landed a "futuristic" job—in her case, on the assembly line of Atari Inc., then the nation's number-one maker of video games. Instead of the \$11 an hour plus benefits she had received at G.M., she made \$5 an hour at Atari, but as she recalls thinking at the time, "Hey, this is a job with a tomorrow!"

Scarcely a year later, tomorrow became yesterday and Gray was again without a job. With no advance notice, in the middle of a shift one day last February, Atari, a subsidiary of Warner Communications, fired 600 workers and said another 1,000 would be let go by midsummer. The company recently announced plans for further layoffs of close to 1,000 white-collar workers. The reason: Atari's whole home video games operation is being shifted to Taiwan and Hong Kong to, in the company's words, "take advantage of cheaper labor costs." (Atari's fortunes have been declining. Its 60 percent share of the home video game market in 1981 fell to 41 percent in 1982, and its 1983 first-quarter operating loss of \$45.6 million left Warner with an overall first-quarter loss of \$18.9 million. Atari had an even worse second quarter, losing \$310.5 million.)

Atari, which produces such hits as Pac-Man and Missile Command, wasn't the first high-tech firm to close a plant or lay off substantial numbers of workers in Silicon Valley, but it is the largest to do so. First to go were the semiconductor chip makers like Intel, which began to shift work overseas several years ago. Then the recession hit the computer industry, and by last spring unemployment in the area was up to 9 percent. All in all, the layoffs are spreading gloom in a region where people had come to expect sustained growth and jobs for the asking.

Atari until this year was a symbol of the future. In 1972 it was a start-up firm; ten years later it was a giant with nearly \$2 billion in sales. Along the way it was acquired by the Warner conglomerate. Before the first layoffs were announced, Atari employed 7,000 workers in the area, and it was negotiating with the City of San Jose about building a new headquarters, at which 8,000 more might be employed.

Dave Lindorff, a member of the National Writers Union, specializes in economic and business reporting.

Now all bets are off, and some officials, like Santa Clara County Supervisor Zoe Lofgren, wonder "if this is some kind of new trend in high tech."

According to Boston College economist Barry Bluestone, who has studied employment patterns in the high-technology belt around Boston, it may well be. "The number of high-skilled jobs created by high tech is small, and the low-skilled work won't stay in this country or any relatively high-wage country once a technology becomes routinized," he says. Atari, he suggests, has reached that point.

Bluestone's appraisal is supported by Lawrence Chimerine, chairman and chief economist at Chase Econometrics, an economic forecasting firm: "What people have tended to forget is that eventually high-technology industries become competitive like any other industry, and keeping labor costs down is part of being competitive. My guess is that soon you'll start seeing some of the personal computer companies moving their facilities offshore."

One indication of the correctness of that view is Warner's recent decision to replace Raymond Kassar, head of Atari during its high-growth days, with James Morgan, head of marketing for Philip Morris. Once the focus shifts from product development to sales promotion—from creating a new market to trying to improve market share—it's a good sign you're dealing with a "mature" industry.

Assuming that Bluestone and Chimerine are right, those who think high technology can solve the nation's unemployment crisis will have to do some serious rethinking. Some are already doing that, even if they don't admit it. Gary Hart, whose speeches used to extol the virtues of high technology, doesn't use the phrase much anymore, and no one is calling him- or herself an "Atari Democrat" these days.

Converting vague second thoughts into a sensible eco-

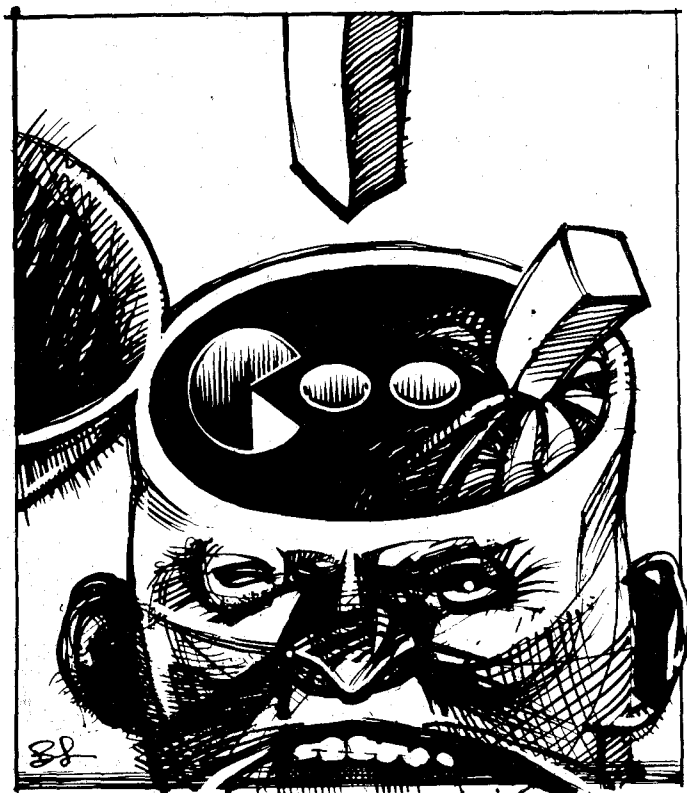
nomics policy is another matter, however. High-tech firms are currently making a killing on government grants and tax incentives intended to stimulate economic growth and thus the creation of jobs. Atari, for example, has received millions of dollars in Federal tax credits for research and development, investment and job creation. According to Local 1621 of the Glaziers and Glass Workers Union, which was trying to organize the company at the time of the first layoffs, Atari indirectly benefited from as much as \$1.5 million in Federal funds when it hired 200 workers who had been retrained—at an estimated cost of \$9,000 per worker—under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act.

Says union organizer Ed Jones, "They don't have to pay any of that back, now that they're moving out of the country." Jones and other critics of Atari's move argue that cutting labor costs is just an easy way out for companies that don't want to, or don't know how to, strengthen their competitive position by improving management and investing in existing operations.

Atari isn't the only company that's adopted a policy of "take the money and run." After feeding at the public trough during their product- and market-development stage, high-technology firms are increasingly moving their operations to Asia and Latin America. People in Silicon Valley are now suggesting that strings be attached to all tax incentives, so that if a company decides to move "off-shore," it would have to repay the Treasury. For many firms, investment and R & D tax credits and depreciation write-offs, not to mention any local incentives, add up to millions of dollars, and would, if made returnable, be an enormous disincentive to leaving the country. Yet as San Francisco investment banker Mike Murphy says, attaching such strings to tax incentives would probably not discourage investment: "Typically, when you are setting up a plant you are assigning a very low probability to moving, or you wouldn't be setting up there. So I doubt that [making tax incentives returnable] would be much of a disincentive to invest."

At a recent session of the Oakland office of the National Labor Relations Board, which was hearing unfair labor practice charges filed against Atari by the union, Atari officials argued that labor costs represent only 3 percent of the operating costs in their video games division. That means that if the company decided to move overseas because of lower labor costs, as it claims, it made the decision for *very* marginal reasons.

Whatever the real reasons for the company's decision, Jodie Gray lost her job. But she learned her lesson. Workers can't escape the unemployment crisis by simply retraining for some new "growth industry." No longer lured by high tech, she's "back at the bottom again," this time as a deburrer in a small machine shop, where she's making \$6 an hour. She's confident that she'll be able to make a career of it, but she also admits to "getting up each morning with my fingers crossed that the job will be there when I get to work." She adds, "How many times can a person go through this crap? I'd like to see an example made of Atari. This retraining stuff is just a lot of promises." □



■ HAS HE MADE A DIFFERENCE?

# The Ruckelshaus Cleaning at E. P.A.

JIM SIBBISON

**W**hen William Ruckelshaus was picked to succeed Anne Burford as Administrator of the scandal-ridden Environmental Protection Agency, he promised to operate "in a fishbowl." "There will be no hit lists, no big 'P' political decisions . . . no sweetheart deals," he told the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee during his confirmation hearings. He drew up a stern memorandum on ethical conduct which was distributed to every employee at the agency. He made public his corporate ties and vowed not to participate in any decision in which there was even the appearance of a conflict of interest.

Although it is refreshing to hear a high-level Reagan Administration official pledge to perform the duties of his office, personal integrity isn't enough. What is needed is a plan to clean up the mess of contaminated air, soil and water left behind by Burford and her staff. Here Ruckelshaus has been uncharacteristically silent. The little he has said seems calculated to soothe the polluters.

There is increasing evidence that the Ruckelshaus appointment was what historian Daniel Boorstin calls a "pseudo-event"—a staged happening that is more show than substance. It was a public relations triumph for the President. The E.P.A. scandals vanished from the television screen, and as House Speaker Tip O'Neill observed ruefully, the President's approval rating in the polls climbed eight points after Burford and her staff were eased out. But now that Ruckelshaus has been on the job for three months, it is time to take a close look at his record.

There is no doubt that he fully enforced the law when he served as the E.P.A.'s first Administrator under President Nixon. Soon after taking office, he ordered the mayors of Atlanta, Detroit and Cleveland to come up with plans to clean up water pollution in their cities—or else. He forced major industries in Birmingham, Alabama, to cut production to alleviate air pollution. He went after corporations with such fervor that he was once introduced to a business group, with Rotarian good humor, as "the greatest friend of industry since Karl Marx."

But that was ten years ago. After leaving the government, Ruckelshaus used his E.P.A. experience to enrich himself. He and several other former E.P.A. officials were principal organizers of a law firm in Washington, half of whose business, as David Burnham of *The New York Times* reported

in the mid-1970s, consisted of representing corporate clients who had legal problems with the E.P.A. That isn't against the law, but as environmentalist Gus Speth told Burnham, "It's obscene." In 1976, Ruckelshaus left Washington to become senior vice president of the Weyerhaeuser Company, a forest products firm, at a reported salary of \$360,000 a year.

In many respects, his present views on environmental regulations do not seem to differ from Burford's. He has said that the methods used to implement the E.P.A.'s air pollution rules are "inherently irrational." He told Congress that he saw no need to make major changes in the agency's badly lagging water pollution cleanup program. Since his arrival, the agency has acknowledged that it will permit pesticides that might cause cancer to be sold for years to come.

Like Burford, Ruckelshaus has seized on the scientific uncertainties about the health effects of many chemicals—a stock industry ploy used to oppose regulation. "Risk assessment at E.P.A. must be based on scientific evidence and scientific consensus *only*," he told the National Academy of Sciences on June 22. "Nothing will erode public confidence faster than the suspicion that policy considerations have been allowed to influence the assessment of risk."

That statement was totally specious, as Ruckelshaus demonstrated three weeks later in his handling of an E.P.A. proposal to limit cancer-causing arsenic emissions from an Asarco copper smelter near Tacoma, Washington. The agency admitted that under its proposed emission standards, some cases of cancer could still occur. So Ruckelshaus came up with an off-the-wall suggestion: Tacoma area residents would be asked if they wanted standards tougher than the E.P.A.'s, which would further reduce the cancer risk but might force the plant to close. Rather than seeking the scientific consensus he promised, he solicited the views of laymen as well as scientists. He also raised the specter of the closing of the smelter and the loss of hundreds of jobs if people in the Tacoma area decide they want tougher standards than those the E.P.A. has proposed. Ruth Weiner, chairwoman of the Cascade chapter of the Sierra Club, called the threat "job blackmail."

What is disturbing about all this is that Reagan and Ruckelshaus may well bring off their fairy tale that things have changed at the E.P.A. Most environmental reporters are poorly equipped to detect and report on malfeasance by public officials. There is a simple reason for that: they rely on handout news. The stories we read about the E.P.A. are usually the E.P.A.'s version of events.

During the eleven years I worked at the E.P.A., I helped write press releases containing prefabricated news which were disseminated to the wire services, such major dailies as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*, the television networks and the news magazines. Those press releases were often their sole source of information about the agency. They had no E.P.A. informants of their own to tell them about the agency's failure to carry out its mandate.

Given this journalistic neglect, the scandal at the Burford

*Jim Sibbison was a Washington correspondent for the Associated Press and, subsequently, an E.P.A. press officer. He now writes on health and politics in Amherst, Massachusetts.*

# The Optimum Shape

*Researchers at the General Motors Research Laboratories have developed the first integrated system for computer design of mechanical parts with minimum mass.*

*Optimal Shape Generation automatically optimizes the component shape in a single computer run.*

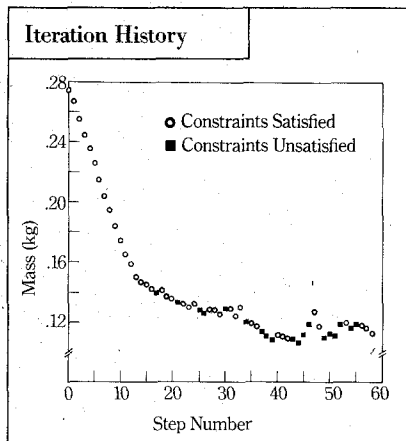


Figure 1: Decreasing mass plotted as a function of design iterations for the component shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Black-and-white photographs of shapes which appear in color on the CRT screen. Increasing darkness indicates increasing stress levels within the design limits.

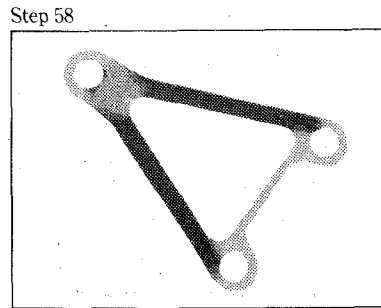
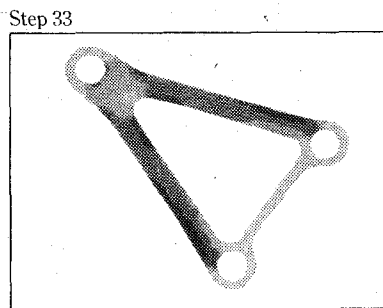
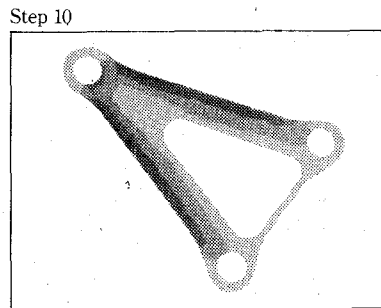
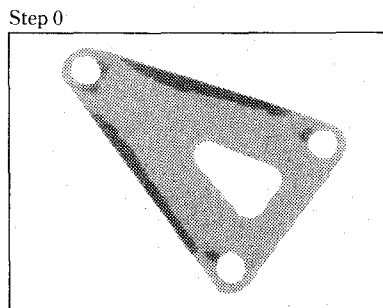
COMPUTER-AIDED design systems automate the processes of generating geometric data and engineering drawings of parts, but they do not determine whether these parts meet structural performance requirements. In an ongoing research project at the General Motors Research Laboratories, a system has been developed that automatically ensures that the design meets structural performance constraints. More important, Optimal Shape Generation provides the component shape with the minimum mass capable of satisfying structural demands in a single computer run, without requiring human interaction with the machine.

In the last two decades, extensive research has been done in the area of computer design of

structural components. Most of this work has focused on individual aspects of the process. Drs. Jim Bennett and Mark Botkin have succeeded in integrating the process from description of the model through convergence to the optimum solution.

Conventional systems continue distinctions characteristic of age-old "build and test" methods by separating the tasks of design generation and design analysis. Typically, a "designer" uses one computer system to produce engineering drawings of a given part. The task then shifts to an "evaluator" who creates a mathematical model with which to test the design on another computer system. The evaluator determines only whether or not the design meets the requirements. A lengthy interaction between the designer and the evaluator is required to optimize the design. Optimal Shape Generation integrates the process from design generation through design optimization. The system can generate the mathematical model from the design data as the shape changes without requiring additional input, thereby turning the process from a multi-person, multimachine operation into a one-person, one-machine operation.

Since there is no interaction beyond the initial input, a flexible description of the problem is crucial to effective use of the system. The researchers responded to this challenge by developing a geometric format based on a parametric description of the boundary. Defining the problem with geometric data is desirable because it describes the shape of the part in a



form directly suitable for conceptual visualization.

Because the boundary geometric description must be transformed into an analysis model not once but several times, some type of automatic finite element mesh generation is required. The researchers adapted a mesh generation technique which divides a closed region into triangular elements based on a discrete description of the boundary. The sizes of the elements of the mesh are determined by a characteristic length selected for each problem and are related to the need for accurately describing the geometry. Automatic triangulation is used to create a set of connectivities for the discrete points placed uniformly throughout the part's interior with approximately the same density as the boundary points. The combination of boundary data description and automatic mesh generation permits the system to accommodate major changes in shape from the initial design.

**A**DEQUACY of the triangular meshes to calculate accurate stress levels was next addressed by the development of an adaptive mesh refinement scheme. By evaluating the solution for the uniform mesh created by the choice of characteristic length and identifying areas where the strain energy density changes rapidly, the system selects the areas of the mesh that require mesh refinement. These refinements can take the form of either adding elements in the area to be refined or increasing the order of the finite element

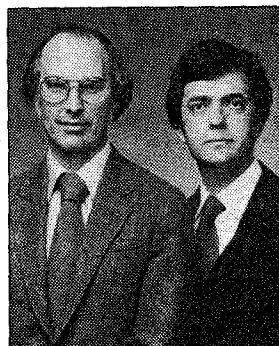
polynomial interpolation. The former approach has been taken, because it can be implemented automatically and does not require the formulation of new finite elements.

The culmination of the process introduces an optimization routine which directs the design toward a minimum mass configuration. A mathematical optimization technique is used to change the design to that shape giving minimum mass within the structural constraints. This optimization technique is based upon a sequential first-order Taylor series approximation of the constraints and a feasible directions solution of the problem. Periodic mesh refinements are performed throughout the optimization, since the design is continually changing, and the system must predict the stresses and the behavior of the constraints as the design changes.

"By taking an integrated approach," says Dr. Bennett, "we're able to combine the objectives of reducing the mass of the material and meeting structural performance requirements in a single automatic system."

"We expect," adds Dr. Botkin, "that in the future this technique will become the standard way of designing structural components."

**General Motors**



## THE MEN BEHIND THE WORK

Drs. Jim Bennett and Mark Botkin are members of the Engineering Mechanics Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Bennett holds the title of Assistant Department Head. He attended the University of Michigan as an undergraduate and received his graduate degrees from the same institution in the field of aerospace engineering. His Ph.D. thesis concerned non-linear vibrations. Before coming to General Motors in 1973, he taught aeronautical and astronautical engineering at the University of Illinois.

Dr. Botkin is a Staff Research Engineer. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Missouri at Rolla. His graduate work was in the field of civil engineering, and his doctoral thesis concerned structural optimization. Prior to joining General Motors in 1978, he worked for four years as a consultant to computer applications engineers.

E.P.A. might still be in progress but for the intervention of Congress and the public protests of a few disaffected agency employees. The current E.P.A. scandal is more subtle. It is not, as in the days of Burford, a case of blatant pro-industry conflict of interest; rather, the scandal is the huge backlog of unfinished tasks and the installation of a man at the top who appears willing to play a pat hand.

This is not to say that Ruckelshaus will ignore the backlog. He will probably proceed with caution on some of the jobs Burford seemed determined to bury. And the press releases will continue to flow. There may even be enough of them to provide the illusion of achievement right up until the 1984 Presidential election. □

## ■ STRINGS ON EMPLOYEE GIVING

# The Charities of Reagan's Choice

TIMOTHY SAASTA

**T**he latest skirmish in what has been called the "charity war" broke out this summer in Washington with the publication of proposed rules governing payroll-deduction gifts by Federal employees. The regulations are the latest phase of President Reagan's effort to prevent Federal employees from authorizing deductions from their paychecks for charities the Administration doesn't like. Government workers gave \$100 million in last year's Combined Federal Campaign (C.F.C.); with that kind of money at stake, the war is anything but charitable.

On one side, allied with the Administration, are United Way of America, the nation's largest eleemosynary consortium, and the numerous well-established charities it supports, including the Red Cross, the American Cancer Society and the Salvation Army. Until 1980, these mainline charities were the only groups allowed to solicit payroll donations from Federal employees in the annual C.F.C. On the other side are dozens of civil rights, women's, environmental and consumer organizations, such as the National Black United Fund, the Women's Legal Defense Fund and the Audubon Society. Last year, such groups received about \$5 million in gifts from Federal employees.

Because of the productiveness and efficiency of workplace fund-raising (the cost is only 5 cents for every dollar raised), many organizations have come to rely on drives like the C.F.C. for a significant share of their revenues. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund raised \$350,000 in last year's C.F.C.; the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation got nearly \$500,000. A handful of conservative public interest groups also receive payroll-deduction gifts from Federal employees. But they have raised less than one tenth of the money raised by minority, women's

and environmental groups. Progressive groups across the country have banded together to form dozens of "alternative funds," which conduct workplace drives in Federal and local government offices and in private businesses. Some of these charitable coalitions have been quite successful: Philadelphia's Women's Way collected more than \$400,000 last year for eight women's groups in that city; Los Angeles's Brotherhood Crusade raised about \$1 million for various community organizations; the Cooperating Fund Drive raised more than \$100,000 in behalf of twenty-four community groups in Minneapolis-St. Paul.

Competition from these alternative funds has threatened the virtual monopoly long enjoyed by United Way, the country's oldest umbrella group, which collects more than \$1 billion a year in the workplace and 65 percent of all C.F.C. donations. It found a sympathetic ear in the Reagan Administration, which does not like the idea that many groups critical of its policies are receiving support from government employees through authorized deductions from their paychecks.

Early last year, the Administration made its first attempt to exclude activist groups from the Federal campaign by proposing eligibility requirements that followed United Way's suggestions. A memorandum from the Los Angeles United Way to its affiliated charities urged them to write to the President "supporting the proposed changes made by United Way of America for the Combined Federal Campaign." A similar memorandum from the San Francisco United Way said the changes should be supported because they would "enhance United Way agencies' ability to achieve additional dollars."

Despite United Way's vigorous lobbying, the Administration withdrew its proposed ban on activist organizations after it provoked a huge outcry from the groups that would have been affected and a rash of criticism in the press. An Office of Management and Budget official told a reporter for *The Christian Science Monitor* that his agency received more comments on this issue than it did on the 1981 tax cut and budget reconciliation bills combined.

While United Way lost its initial fight to narrow C.F.C. eligibility, it did win the right to manage most of the 560 campaigns in Federal offices around the country, as well as the right to allocate any payroll deductions not earmarked for a specific charity (these totaled about \$37 million in 1981). Then, last September, United Way's board sent a resolution to the President asking him once again to restrict the C.F.C. to non-advocacy charities. In February, the President signed an executive order restricting the campaign to agencies that provide "direct health and welfare services" and banning charities that engage in "advocacy, lobbying or litigation" on public policy issues.

That ban, which is reminiscent of O.M.B.'s attempt in January to severely limit the advocacy activities of nonprofit groups that receive Federal funds (an attempt that was strongly supported by the New Right as part of its campaign to "defund" the left), provoked yet another outcry. Even United Way, which initially praised Reagan's action, later told Congress that the ban on advocacy went too far. As an

*Timothy Saasta is the assistant director of the National Committee for Responsible Philanthropy.*

article in *The Washington Post* pointed out, the ban "could make all charities ineligible," since all of them engage in some form of advocacy (such as providing testimony to governmental bodies) on behalf of their constituents.

Possibly as a result of this criticism, the Administration delayed publishing the proposed regulations implementing Reagan's executive order until June 24. Rather than banning all advocacy, the new rules list the specific services a charity must provide in order to participate in the C.F.C. These include "counseling of juvenile delinquents" and "health research for the benefit of ill or infirm individuals." The rules strictly limit the amount of "non-charitable" activities a group can engage in and still take part in the C.F.C. It may spend only 15 percent of its money on advocacy, lobbying, litigation, public education and any service not included on the Administration's list, such as disease prevention services or information and referral.

The new rules would disqualify more than 100 national and local charities—mainly legal defense funds, which help people fight discrimination by filing lawsuits on their behalf. According to Kermit Eady of the National Black United Fund, "The Administration that has cut off so much aid to poor people and minorities is now trying to cut off their voice by hurting the groups that have been speaking out about the budget cuts."

The Administration denies that its aim is to defund its critics, and argues that agencies that provide health and welfare services should have top priority. "The most important thing to remember is that [the C.F.C.] is first and foremost an expression by Federal employees of their commitment to helping the disadvantaged," explained Donald Devine, director of the Office of Personnel Management (O.P.M.), in a press release announcing the new regulations. The flaw in Devine's argument is that many of the groups that would be excluded from the campaign help the disadvantaged, while many agencies supported by United Way primarily help the middle class. As Pleuria Marshall, head of the National Black Media Coalition, points out, "Who is the Reagan Administration to tell Federal employees that it's better to support a Y.M.C.A. in the suburbs than a group trying to help inner-city kids get jobs by fighting discrimination? That's a decision for employees to make, not the Reagan Administration."

The Administration's preference for charitable groups that provide services to the needy rather than those whose activities are aimed at preventing disease or combating the causes of poverty has also been criticized in Congress. Representative Barney Frank, whose Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing conducted three hearings on O.P.M.'s proposed rules, asked Devine, "Do you do more to fight cancer by harassing the E.P.A. than by urging people to have checkups?" The Administration's opponents argue that advocacy for the poor and the ill has always been a function of charities. In the nineteenth century, for example, reformer Dorothea Dix helped insane people by arousing public opinion against the cruel treatment they received. "Ronald Reagan's vision of 'charity' is just so narrow," says the Black United Fund's Eady.

The Administration and United Way claim that allowing activist charities to participate in the C.F.C. might lead to controversies that could hurt the campaign. Last year, for instance, two Federal employee unions boycotted the drive because they opposed the inclusion of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. However, admitting activist groups has not hurt contributions, which, according to O.P.M., increased faster than inflation in the last two years, something which hadn't happened since 1977. And the percentage of employees making donations has risen four points since 1980, from 59 percent to 63.2 percent. Representative Patricia Schroeder, chairwoman of the House Subcommittee on Civil Service, which put pressure on O.P.M. in 1980 to open up the campaign to advocacy groups, believes that their presence encourages contributions: "Give a consumer more choice and he or she will be more likely to make a purchase." That has been the case at other workplaces that have followed the C.F.C. example and offered employees a wider range of charities. Among the employers that have opened up their workplace campaigns are the Cities of St. Louis, Philadelphia and New York; the States of Michigan, Arizona and Wisconsin; and Bell Laboratories and I.B.M. in the New York metropolitan area.

In July, Federal Judge Joyce Green ruled that the Administration's attempt to prevent charities from soliciting employees because of what the charities say they plan to do with the money they receive (such as file lawsuits) is a violation of free speech. However, despite that ruling, despite receiving more than 200 comments critical of the proposed rules and despite a bipartisan effort led by Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Mark Hatfield to convince O.P.M. to postpone the new rules for a year, the Administration made no substantial changes in the final rules published on August 1. O.P.M. said it was appealing Judge Green's ruling. Until that appeal is decided, O.P.M., under pressure from Judge Green, agreed not to exclude groups from this year's campaign because they spend too much money on advocacy or do not provide enough direct services. However, several other new rules that could hurt smaller charities are in effect (for example, the number of chapters a charity must have in order to qualify as a national organization was increased from 75 to 200). The decision on which charities can participate in this fall's campaign will be made by August 31.

Activist groups point out that the new rules contradict many of the Administration's stated policies. "Here you have a President who supposedly believes so much in competition trying to limit competition among charities," says Eady. "You have a President who has said over and over again that he wants to see an increase in charitable giving do something that will cause giving to decrease, especially to women and minorities. And you've got a President who goes on and on about the need to get the government off our backs trying to define what charities can and cannot do and tell employees who they can support with their own money." □

# BOOKS & THE ARTS.

## The Other Sexual Revolution

GEORGE DESTEFANO

**SEXUAL POLITICS, SEXUAL COMMUNITIES: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970.** By John D'Emilio. University of Chicago Press. 257 pp. \$20.

How many students of American political culture know that during the McCarthy era more people lost their jobs for being alleged homosexuals than for being alleged Communists? Or that in the 1950s the F.B.I. launched a campaign of surveillance and harassment against gay men and lesbians that would last for nearly thirty years? Or that World War II was perhaps the single greatest catalyst to the creation of an urban gay milieu in America?

These facts are part of the heretofore obscure history of homosexual men and women in America—a history that John D'Emilio thoroughly documents in this important book. Drawing on interviews with veteran gay activists, archival material of the gay movement and a comprehensive reading of mainstream media as well as of medical, religious and sociological literature, D'Emilio recounts the efforts of some brave men and women to build a community and a politics to sustain it in the face of severe opprobrium. Those who snicker at the mention of "gay oppression" would do well to read *Sexual Politics*, *Sexual Communities*.

But D'Emilio hasn't written a record simply of travails and trials. Drawing on Foucault and British gay historian Jeffrey Weeks, as well as on Marx and Engels, he explores the interplay between homosexual emancipation efforts and structural changes in American society and the economy. Despite some repetitiousness and a lucid but stodgy prose style that reveal the book's origin as a doctoral dissertation, *Sexual Politics*, *Sexual Communities* is the most valuable contribution to the literature on modern homosexuality since Jonathan Katz's groundbreaking *Gay American History*.

Until the late nineteenth century, D'Emilio maintains, the word "homo-

sexual" in the West referred to discrete acts, not personal identity. Prior to that time, there were no gay people, simply individuals who experienced same-sex attraction. Capitalism, by eroding the hegemony of the family and traditional social relations through the intertwined processes of industrialization and urbanization, permitted men and women of homosexual inclination the space, anonymity and relative freedom to explore their personal lives and sexual identities. Homosexuality in the modern Western world, then, is a phenomenon that has been "socially constructed" out of a matrix of socioeconomic factors. (This proposition, while persuasive, may not be definitive. Some historians, notably John Boswell, have made credible cases for the existence of gay people and gay culture in pre-industrial Europe.)

D'Emilio argues that the unique historical processes that have fostered the emergence of a homosexual milieu in America have largely been overlooked by contemporary gay liberationists, who frequently speak as if their movement and culture emerged out of nowhere in 1969. According to conventional liberationist wisdom, gays and lesbians were isolated from one another and invisible to society until the end of the 1960s. D'Emilio disagrees ("Isolated men and women do not create, almost overnight, a mass movement premised upon a shared group identity"), and finds "the roots of the gay liberation movement in the efforts of homosexuals and lesbians that preceded it." The pioneering efforts of the "homophile" activists of the 1950s and 1960s, although virtually ignored and often derided by the gay radicals of the 1970s, paved the way for the liberationists by radically altering society's overwhelmingly condemnatory attitudes toward homosexuality.

Until World War II, the public discourse on the subject was shaped by religious taboos and legal proscriptions based on religion. The mobilization of millions of young men for military service gave the psychiatric view of homosexuality its foothold as the armed services began to administer psychological tests to inductees to weed out "sexual perverts." And in the decade and a half after the war, state legislatures turned to psychiatrists to

help draft "sexual psychopath laws that officially recognized homosexuality as a socially threatening illness." But despite the negative aspects of the psychiatric view, it subverted earlier ways of thinking. "The accumulation of empirical evidence," says D'Emilio, "could inspire new dissenting theories whereas Christian teachings rested on the immutable words of the Bible." "The medical model," he adds, "introduced a dynamic element into discussion of same-sex eroticism that could serve the interests of reformers."

World War II disrupted traditional social life to an unprecedented extent. Millions of men were uprooted from their communities and placed in sex-segregated environments. The military preferred young, single men with few or no dependents, a category that was bound to include large numbers of homosexually oriented men. Many of them escaped detection by the shrinks and their "scientific" tests. There were also 150,000 women in the armed forces. D'Emilio observes, "In an era that frequently associated homosexuality with reversal of gender roles, the Women's Army Corps became the almost quintessential lesbian institution." Women also entered the labor force in large numbers, and they engaged in "a range of activities that marked their independence and signalled their departure from the normative female role."

Of all the changes in American society wrought by the war, the most significant from the homosexual point of view was the growth of the gay bar. Bars, D'Emilio observes, "fostered an identity that was both public and collective." Gay and lesbian bars were "a seedbed for a collective consciousness that might one day flower politically." The publication in the 1950s of the Kinsey reports on male and female sexuality "gave an added push at a crucial time to the emergence of an urban gay subculture." Kinsey's work confounded conventional attitudes by demonstrating that homosexuality was neither an aberration nor pathology but "an inherent physiologic capacity."

Despite the opening up of gay social space during the war and the changes in public discourse due to the Kinsey reports, the 1950s was a dangerous time to be homosexual in America. The ideologies of familism and femininity urged women out of the workplace and back into the home, while government assistance programs bolstered marriage and

George DeStefano is a freelance writer living in New York and a contributing editor of The New York Native.

the nuclear family. The growth in gay visibility that had come about during the war was not accompanied by increased tolerance; in fact, as D'Emilio reports, "The Cold War and its attendant anti-Communism provided the setting in which a sustained attack upon homosexuals and lesbians took place."

In 1953, President Eisenhower signed an executive order that made homosexuality ground for termination from government employment. The order merely codified what was already happening: between 1947 and 1950, nearly 2,000 job seekers were denied Federal employment on the basis of their sexual orientation. The purge spread to the military where "separations [resulting from charges of homosexuality] averaged 2,000 per year in the early 1950s and rose by another 50 percent by the beginning of the 1960s." (In a recent study commissioned by the National Gay Task Force, D'Emilio estimated that as many as 50,000 gay men and lesbians were kicked out of the armed forces between 1950 and 1970.) Although one cannot deny the damage done to individual lives and to American politics by McCarthy-era Red-baiting, the anti-gay purges lasted longer and affected more people. Eisenhower's order unleashed a massive domestic surveillance program that affected tens of thousands of gay men and lesbians. The F.B.I. supplied the Civil Service Commission with data on Federal employees and job applicants, monitored the mail of suspected homosexuals, spied on gay bars and paid ominous visits to the employers of homosexuals. Not even the American Civil Liberties Union defended their rights.

Anti-homosexuality permeated the political culture and its institutions. D'Emilio succinctly captures the essence of the phobia: "Lacking toughness, the effete, overly educated male representatives of the Eastern establishment had lost China and Eastern Europe to the enemy. Weak-willed, pleasure-seeking homosexuals—'half men'—feminized everything they touched and sapped the masculine vigor that had tamed a continent. The congruence of the stereotypical communist and homosexual made scapegoating gay men and women a simple matter."

The commie-queer connection that haunted right-wing homophobes wasn't entirely a figment of their overheated imaginations. The Mattachine Society, America's first gay emancipation group, was founded in the early 1950s by Marxists, the most notable being Harry Hay, a longtime Communist Par-

ty member. Hay believed that homosexuals constituted an oppressed and culturally distinct minority; like workers, they needed to recognize their oppression and build a mass movement to fight for liberation. Although Hay brought a Marxist orientation to Mattachine, he knew that the Communist Party, then under siege by the McCarthyites, would hardly be delighted with his new project. The C.P. rarely discussed homosexuality, and when it did, the discussion was usually framed in the Stalinist vocabulary of "bourgeois decadence" and "social pathology." Hay told his superiors what he was up to and asked to be released from his party membership.

But Hay also encountered problems from members of Mattachine, many of whom were not prepared to be in the vanguard of a Marxist-led gay emancipation effort—not in the heyday of Tailgunner Joe and the Eisenhower executive order. And since the gay subculture was still rudimentary, Hay's notion that homosexuals are substantially different from heterosexuals rang false to many of the men and women attracted to Mattachine. They believed they differed from heterosexuals only in their bedroom behavior. The "moderates" wrested control of Mattachine from Hay and his comrades and set the fledgling organization on what D'Emilio calls an "accommodationist" course, which emphasized persuading a hostile society to abandon or modify its anti-homosexual bias while encouraging homosexuals to adjust to society's norms. The moderates eschewed political action, fearing that a public presence would jeopardize the existence of the new organization.

Although Mattachine did have women members, it was male-dominated in membership and outlook. In the mid-1950s, five women who were disenchanted with the sexist, condescending attitudes and behavior of Mattachine men formed the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian self-help and social organization. All the same, fissures between homosexual men and women didn't really open up until the early 1970s. During the 1950s the homophile movement was too small and weak for its two wings not to work together. And though Bilitis challenged the male-centered view of homosexuality, like the Mattachine Society it was largely middle class (and almost totally white) in its composition and outlook, and disdained the working-class bar subculture.

The accommodationist view of Mattachine and Bilitis fell out of favor in

A "secret" invasion  
A Presidential coverup  
A disastrous war  
The year? 1811!

## THE PLOT TO STEAL FLORIDA

James Madison's Phony War

by Joseph Burkholder Smith,  
author of *Portrait of a Cold Warrior*

"Draws interesting parallels with more recent government coverups over Vietnam and Watergate" (*Publishers Weekly*)  
... "Reads like an espionage thriller." (*ALA Booklist*)

 **ARBOR HOUSE**

"... A brilliant psycho-biographical study of the four most important American Negro leaders"

—Bruno Bettelheim

"... a very important book—long overdue, scholarly, insightful and exciting. It should be required reading for students of leadership in particular and students of behavior in general"

—James P. Comer, M.D.  
Professor of Psychiatry  
Yale Child Study Center

"... I highly recommend this ranging work for all who seek insight into the complex, embattled, psychological involvement of Afro-American leadership—historical and contemporary."

—Leon Forrest

**LEADERSHIP, LOVE & AGGRESSION**

AS THE TWIG IS BENT  
THE PSYCHOLOGICAL  
FACTORS IN THE  
MAKING OF FOUR  
BLACK LEADERS

FREDERICK DOUGLASS  
W.E.B. DU BOIS  
RICHARD WRIGHT  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

ALLISON DAVIS

\$15.95

**HBJ** HARCOULT BRACE JOVANOVICH

the 1960s as gay militants embraced a direct-action approach modeled on black civil rights activism. Gays and lesbians went public, marching on picket lines, holding demonstrations and lobbying politicians. With the assistance of the Washington chapter of the A.C.L.U.—civil libertarians were beginning to ap-

preciate the extent of gay oppression—Mattachine militants agitated against the discriminatory policies of the government and the military.

Having transformed itself into a crusade, the gay cause began to attract large numbers of adherents. D'Emilio reports that by 1969 there were fifty gay groups in the United States; there had been fifteen a mere three years earlier. And in June 1969, the contemporary gay liberation movement was born when a group of effeminate "street queen" gays and some lesbians violently resisted an unprovoked police raid on a Greenwich Village bar called the Stonewall Inn. Word of this unprecedented event—gays fighting cops rather than meekly submitting to harassment—quickly spread through gay and New Left circles. Within a month, radical gays and lesbians formed the Gay Liberation Front, the name inspired by the Marxist guerrillas of Vietnam.

Gay liberation, says D'Emilio, swam in the same political and cultural stream as the New Left and the counterculture, and derived much of its strength from this confluence of social and political movements. Although he doesn't discuss the women's movement in great detail, he notes that feminism, through its critique of the traditional structuring of gender and its affirmation of nonprocreative sexuality, aided gay liberation efforts. One wishes, however, that D'Emilio had delved into New Left thought: there's not even a mention of Marcuse, who suggested that sexual liberation movements might become the cutting edge of radical reform. Nor does D'Emilio discuss the neo-Freudian gay liberationists, who believed that homosexuality, and exclusive heterosexuality, would wither away once everyone accepted their innate bisexuality. (That idea has been virtually abandoned by even its more ardent advocates, such as Dennis Altman.)

The "post-Stonewall" era has seen the creation of gay and lesbian community institutions that have nothing to do with sex: political action groups, churches, theaters, sports leagues, dance companies, social service agencies and many others. Prodded by gay activists, the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders and now has a gay and lesbian caucus. The Civil Service Commission dropped its hiring ban, and other discriminatory hiring practices of the Federal government have been modified, although the Eisenhower executive order remains on the books.

## Two Poems

### AUGUST

Before that thundercloud breaks from its hawsers,  
those ropes of rain, a wind makes the sea grapes wince,  
and the reef signals its last flash of lime.  
Feeling her skin cool, the housemaid August  
runs into the yard to pull down clouds, like a laundress,  
from the year's meridian, her mouth stuffed with wooden pins.  
She's seen these flashes of quartz, she knows it's time  
for the guests on the beach to come up to the house,  
and, hosing sand from scorched feet, let the hinges rust  
in holes for another year. But an iron band  
still binds their foreheads: the bathers stand  
begging the dark clouds, whose spinnakers race over the dunes,  
for one more day. Here, the salt vine dries  
as fast as it grows, and before you look, a year's gone  
with your shadow. The temperate homilies can't  
take root in sand; the cicada can fiddle his tunes  
all year, if he likes, to the twig-brown ant.  
The cloud passes high like a god staying his powers—  
the pocked sand dries, umbrellas reopen like flowers—  
but those who measure midsummer by a year's trials  
have felt a chill grip an ankle. They put down their book  
to count the children crouched over pools, and the idolaters  
angling their chairs to the god's face, like sundials.

### CERTAIN THINGS

Certain things here are quietly American—  
that chain-link fence dividing the absent roars  
of the beach from the empty ball park, its holes  
muttering the word umpire instead of empire;  
the level, gray light where an early pelican  
coasts, with its engine off, through the mild pink fire  
of a sea whose surface is as cold as Maine's.  
The light warms up the sides of white, eager Cessnas  
parked at the airstrip under the freckling hills  
of Saint Thomas. The sheds, the brown, functional hangar,  
are like those of the Occupation in the last war.  
The sun reddens fast as a gas ring, and a whistling kettle  
draws busy transparent creatures from beds in the sand;  
but illegal immigrants from unlucky islands  
are in hiding, envying the polyp its right to work,  
where the crab and the mollusc are naturalized citizens,  
and the leaves have green cards. Bulldozers jerk  
and gouge out a hill, but we all know that the dust  
is industrial and must be suffered. Soon—  
the sea's corrugations are sheets of zinc  
soldered by the sun's steady acetylene.  
Oh yes, there are several coves where the light is still green  
on water, and the natives swim, but my own corpuscles  
are changing fast, I fear what the migrant envies:  
the starry pattern they make—the flag on the post office—  
the quality of the dirt, the fealty changing under my foot.

Derek Walcott

During the 1970s, more than half the states dropped their anti-sodomy laws, and several dozen cities passed antidiscrimination statutes.

D'Emilio's book ends on a remarkably upbeat note, and considering the crises facing the gay and lesbian communities—right-wing backlash, the disaffection of many black and Third World gay people from the predominantly white movement, splits between men and women, and the horrifying outbreak of AIDS, with its potential for anti-gay scapegoating—one wonders whether the optimism is warranted. D'Emilio believes that the growing convergence between homosexual and heterosexual experience bodes well for the future of gay people in America. Increasingly, heterosexuals value non-procreative sex and are less bound to the

nuclear family. "As the life cycle of heterosexuals exhibits greater variety and less predictability, they have come to face many of the choices and experiences that gay men and women confront."

Homosexuality may not yet be universally recognized as a natural component of human sexuality, but in the late twentieth century, a class of people that had been relentlessly rebuked and scorned has come close to fulfilling Harry Hay's vision of a self-conscious social minority, one that has not only set about its own liberation but has helped to redefine sex, sex roles and the meaning of gender, thereby expanding the scope of freedom for both straight and gay people. John D'Emilio has splendidly captured the unfolding and significance of this profound social drama. □

## Cooperative Poetry

CLARA CLAIBORNE PARK

NATURAL AFFINITIES. By Erica Funkhouser. Alice James Books (138 Mount Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138). 61 pp. \$4.95.

BONFIRE. By Celia Gilbert. Alice James Books. 71 pp. \$4.95.

SIGNAL::NOISE. By Miriam Goodman. Alice James Books. 61 pp. \$4.95.

**H**uman nature being what it is, a cooperative venture moving into its tenth year merits celebration, the more so when its product is published poetry. The five women and two men who started Alice James Books, in 1973, at first designed, typeset, pasted up and printed the books themselves; even now, when the cooperative has grown to forty-one members, each member shares the work of the press for at least a year and a half. There's a welcome, sensible decency about the whole enterprise; the books are kept in print, nobody gets to publish more than two volumes, and while the press publishes mostly women—in commemoration of unpublished Alice James—there's still room for men.

The three collections that mark this tenth year share that decency; they aren't out to make us feel guilty or ashamed, but to sharpen our perceptions. Erica Funkhouser, for example,

*Clara Claiborne Park teaches English at Williams College.*

considers tools—hammer, screwdriver, plane, pipe wrench, handsaw, paper clips—a poem for each. I've never thought about tools at all, I realize.

The hand is not always extremity enough.

At times we must go farther,  
and so the hammer comes to mind.  
It leads the strength of shoulder  
down through diverse fingers  
to a solid head the way  
horses are led into canyons  
or thunder.

("Hammer")

That's a surprise, about the horses, but the poem moves toward a subtler one:

In hammering, as in domestic matters,  
balance determines all:  
too little weight  
wears the striker out,  
too much may mar the stricken . . .

Lines that lead nicely to the next poem:

For those days when drumming  
is too direct, a slow twist  
of the screwdriver will do.

("Screwdriver")

The plane dreams "flatness, flatness . . . as it sweeps down every plank/envisioning unsown fields,/box-cars, Unitarian churches," singing "Lie down . . . /Lie down and be the same as all the rest." The saw "moves with the incessant logic of progress": "Why stand up when you can fall down?/Why be a tree when you can be a house?"

It never sees  
the nightmares that come to the tree  
in the form of windows and doors.

("Hand Saw")

## THE NEW SCHOOL

**The place to be for  
Post Graduate  
Humanistic Studies**

As Socrates suggested long ago, the possession of specialized knowledge and the mastery of technique are insufficient for living wisely and well. In the Liberal Studies Program, seminars are designed for the mature and serious student who recognizes that human action and judgment have meaning, and that human beings must seek it out and live by its implications.

**M.A. in Liberal Studies**

New School for Social Research  
65 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
(212) 741-5767

**M  
O  
V  
I  
N  
G  
?**

ATTACH  
MAILING  
LABEL  
HERE

**Don't miss a single  
issue of THE NATION.**

New address:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Please allow 6-8 weeks  
for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION  
P.O. Box 1953  
Marion, Ohio 43305

"Seven Sorrows" takes this further—these are no human dolors, but the sorrows of fields, doors, clams, porches, paths, snakeskin; of snow, "its elaborate hopes/contained in crystals/that land, as stars never do,/complete." Such conscious embracing of the pathetic fallacy reminds us of how, in the hands of the unsentimental, the registration of such "natural affinities" enriches our perceptions of both the realms that are yoked together. Funkhouser is good on flounders and lettuce, and even better on beets. But

the tool poems have already prepared us for poems of more explicitly human penetration:

Don't come to me so often.  
I find false comfort  
in consistency.

Soon I'll have you made  
into a work of art:  
steady, perpetual,  
cold in my lap.

("Notes from the Coast")

These love poems register a laconic insecurity; "Notes from the Coast" ends "I try to look empty,/now, when I'm

most full. That way nothing will be taken." "Goodbye" begins "Today, again, I need you,/but this is no plea to stay in place." That love should be temporary, in Funkhouser's words a "disappearing green," a flowering "of amber buds that drop,/like tears" even as they proclaim "We have been remade," seems to be accepted by all three of these poets.

Perhaps it had better be, in this era of the dissolving relationship. "Where are we going, love," asks Celia Gilbert, "in a little yellow cart called marriage?" And though she can envisage, beyond the flat field through which the cart jogs to market, a possible ocean "we might in the end discover," there's more conviction in her poem about liberation:

and she walked out into the city  
leaving the house behind.  
Only then did she see  
how small a space she'd occupied.  
("The End of the Story")

More than a hundred years since Nora left her dollhouse, and these poems still need to be written! Miriam Goodman's poetry also assumes a world of divorce, of sex that is satisfying but temporary, of children raised alone and with difficulty: "Who will know I broke my daughter's will/or poured the alphabet into her ear?" Are we to hear triumphant defiance, or loss, in the conclusion of her "Argument for Parting"?

And I don't marry.  
I don't buy land.  
I get older by myself.

Old and old-fashioned—back in the 1950s, my four children didn't even count as a big family—I read with some shock Gilbert's poem for a friend having her first child at 38:

Too late to tell you now of terrors  
over a sick child, or rage at an adolescent  
that shattered me with guilt, and the  
utter  
loneliness of responsibilities never  
fully shared. . . .

. . . the ties  
between ourselves and children grown  
are slack. If I had *known*. . . .  
Turning to me, you smile, filled with  
light.

As men go to war—ignorant, foolhardy,  
dy, vainglorious,  
brave—so women, to motherhood.

("Voices")

Although I knew the shock was not unintended, it was still with relief that I returned to Funkhouser: "for eight months I have been carrying/a stranger soon to be my child for life," the baby

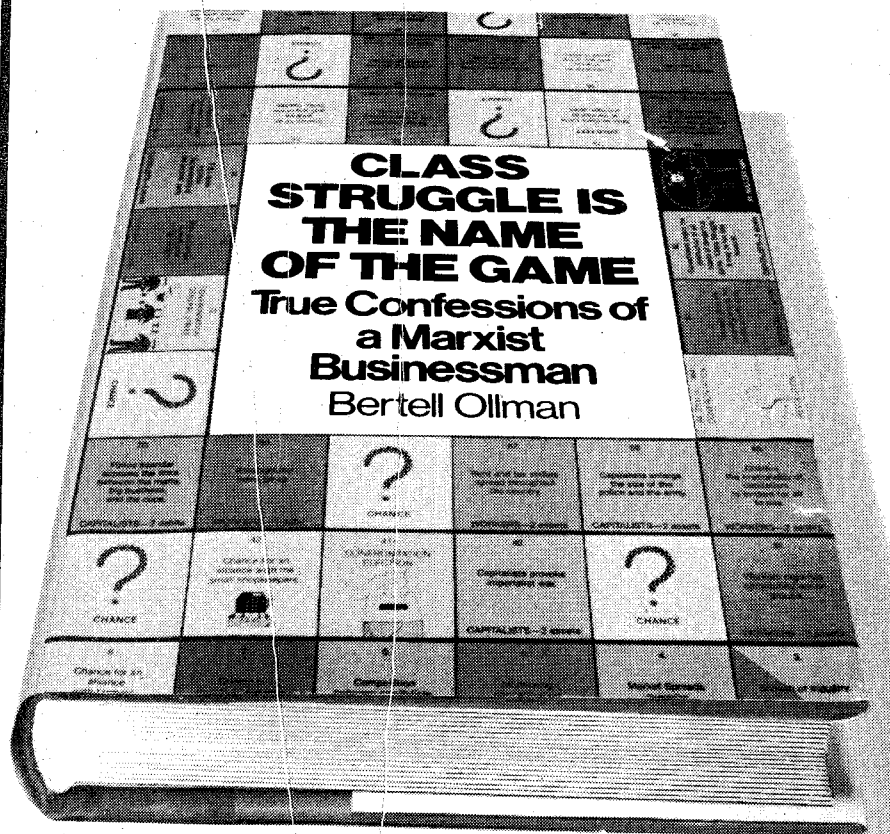
## "Who would have thought class struggle could be such fun?"\*

What happens when a Marxist professor invents a board game called "Class Struggle" and becomes a businessman in order to sell it? What happens when his small-business adventure draws nationwide publicity and Hollywood option money? "What a weird and wonderful way to score points for the revolution! His book will have you laughing, groaning (in empathy), and thinking.... Here's

the best kind of entertainment—it instructs while it delights."  
—Michael Parenti, Institute for Policy Studies, Author of *Democracy for the Few* and *Power for the Powerless*

"The adventures of a Marxist entrepreneur in the marketplace make for instant comedy. Ollman's one of the few people who would have made Karl Marx laugh."—Abbie Hoffman

**CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME**  
True Confessions of a Marxist Businessman  
Bertell Ollman



At bookstores or send check  
or money order for \$12.95 to Dept. PLD:NA,

**William Morrow**  
105 Madison Avenue New York N.Y. 10016

who "leaves no room for me/to store my old complaints/and secrets":

Like a tree that has been chosen  
for the owl's home,  
I stand up differently today.  
(*"Waiting"*)

I savor my antique satisfaction as I read in her concluding poem:

Today there are three of us—my son,  
my husband, myself.  
We walk out on the perfect snow as if  
each crystal  
were a maze we've always known the  
way out of.  
(*"December, New England"*)

Gilbert's more direct feminism gives us two poems that revise fundamental myths. "Eurydice's Song" yields a revelation: she didn't want to come back. It was, as usual, Orpheus' idea; Eurydice followed reluctantly upward, returning to old sorrows. His songs had been "of mankind's woes, not mine, / For I was there for him / And from my heart he rose day after day / Renewed to make his songs. / There was nothing I cared / To return to." "Lot's Wife" takes Akhmatova's beautiful poem, which Richard Wilbur and Stanley Kunitz have variously translated, a step farther. Like Akhmatova, Gilbert focuses on the peculiarly inhuman cruelty of patriarchal and divine justice, but she also picks up the incident, outrageous for its very inconspicuousness, in which, to spare his angel guests, Lot offers his virgin daughters to the homosexual mob. "Why didn't he offer himself to the men?" asks his wife. Why indeed?

Miriam Goodman too is very much today's woman, finding a job in middle life. "Who wouldn't grab the tow-ropes/of ambition, ride along behind/the corporation, out of the murk/of chaos, private griefs?" Dana Gioia has noted recently how resolutely poets who work in business—not only Wallace Stevens, there are more of them than we think—ignore their corporate environment. Not Miriam Goodman. Reinforced by photographs hallucinatory in their evocation of the fluorescent, partitioned emptiness of the modern office floor, her poems take on the "corporate umbrella":

Rectilinear furniture;  
men and women slump  
around a table. How  
the ventilator blows.  
(*"Conference Room"*)

The stairwell reminds her of "Hebrew/slaves trudging up the ziggurat/carrying reports instead of stones." The titles indicate the virgin subject matter:

"Computer Lab," "Cheating on Company Time," "Xerox," "Cafeteria," "Secretary":

Her desk creates a harbor in the hall.  
Without a cubicle to hide in, she's approachable  
like land on the horizon.

The three books have a family—perhaps I should say a cooperative—resemblance. The poems are in the main short, unambitious undertakings, unknotted in their texture, juggling not too many balls at the same time. I have an old bias toward intelligibility, and I like their relative simplicity. They offer little satisfaction to the formalist; their appeal is to the eye and mind, rather than to the ear's pleasure in

the memorable line. Their verses are "free"—which is to say, they define themselves as poems by the width of their margins—though Goodman disconcerts me by sliding in and out of a blank verse so desultory that I'm still not sure she does it on purpose. (It really isn't hard to write blank verse; the rhythm is so natural to English that almost anything you say will fit right in.) I have another old bias toward the free dance within constraints, so I miss it, though I know by my students that the current crop of readers wouldn't know a blank verse line if it bit them. Deprived of my traditional pleasures, I'll settle for the interest of new subject matter, or old subject matter freshly seen. All these poets have that. □

## A Midlife Professor

BLAIR T. BIRMELIN

DOCTOR BLUES. By Mark Smith. William Morrow. 428 pp. \$15.95.

Near the end of *Doctor Blues*, Monty Montrichard, the narrator, a middle-aged professor of prehistory at what sounds like the University of New Hampshire, where Mark Smith teaches, whines rhetorically: "Who is listening to all this? Also, who cares?" Ill-advised questions. Having had a good time, we are likely preparing to move on to the next item on our summer reading list. At that point, Montrichard—thinker, lover, bon vivant, jazz buff, opera singer and all around lower middle-class aristocrat—will not bear up under yet another analysis, though along the way he has provided some riotous moments.

In past novels Smith has always expanded his chosen convention (ghost story in *The Moon Lamp*, psychological thriller in *The Middleman* and *Toyland*); in *The Death of the Detective*, he transformed it entirely. Now he has given us a novel of the academic midlife crisis, a genre commonly spiced with more than a dash of professional vengeance. In it the intellectual assessing his past tends toward a certain degree of misogyny—doubtless in order to establish his masculine credentials (and maybe his creator's as well).

Blair T. Birmelin has reviewed for The Literary Review, San Francisco Review of Books and The Massachusetts Review, and is at work on a novel.

Of late, however, the form has, à la *Garp*, become aware of itself, at least to the extent that the hero is allowed some insight into his lack of moral fiber. Smith plays that hand to brilliant if not always consistent effect. With amiable precision Montrichard takes off on, for example, academic office décor (President Pushman's office "had been done over by his wife in Empire style. So very French. At once boudoirlike and bureaucratic"), and the dream of a total tan which grows on men of a certain age:

Comes the day that he stands in front of a full-length mirror and bares his scrotum—even underneath, brown balls. Lifts his penis—brown as a berry, even on the underside. Raises his arms—nut-brown underarms! Sits on a chair and raises his feet—coffee-colored soles! Puts his back to the mirror and cranes his neck around—black buttocks, hot dog!

Montrichard grew up with the notion that he was born not of mortal parents but, Venuslike, of the sea—the implication being that such a notion is understandable in one coming out of the vast, marinelike expanse of the Midwest. Still, though that fantasy was told to him by his own mother, he is never sure how to take it—nor are we. Is it a metaphor for the fact that in one short life he has managed to clamber out of the primeval low-class muck and into the air of academia, or merely a euphemism for his probable illegitimacy? It matters little, as it turns out; in the course of the book, Smith eases up on that theme in order to elaborate on others, the best of them being Mon-

trichard's recollections of his youthful marriage to Karen Carlson ("Even after years of marriage . . . I still thought of her as Karen Carlson, and do to this day, when she is Mrs. White"). She is a

milk-fed Wisconsin princess, a misreader of Kierkegaard and Kant, and she decides that a college professor is all she needs to make her life whole ("It never seemed to enter her head that she

could have become a professor in her own right"). Karen derides her parents' materialistic values, but Montrichard, as a struggling graduate student and ill-paid instructor, finds the good life of his in-laws alluring, especially the Mukwonago Country Club "less than a mile from their home":

#### PENTACOSTAL VOICE

Alone as an undergraduate, I thought of the sun pushing shadows down the emptied street today like its own thoughts: no negotiable meaning,

it's Shavuot (Pentecost), a holiday that announces light speaks for itself. Why am I here, then (that old, immigrant's question) inside, listening

to my heart grow quiet, as if in another room watching this hand moving—and then, imagined—moving like a turret, prepared to kill

appearances: the small white stork of paper pinned beneath blue ball. . . Outside, in stereo, the guitar talks back

to its singer, who "couldn't care less about anybody's happiness," a blues, as I go deeper grow into the dark inside, safari

to the wound's origin, to the fight against appearances: take this tank I must ride in—to be Jewish in Israel—

less accommodating, even less warm than Talmud to the divided mind. Take this hand lit by an inner engine that can't even heat

this room much less give this picture life. Rigid in our poses, breathe in, friend, and feel the light commanding it, pose

with your hand in the wind of mine—I can't be here alone, drink light's cup of coffee without you—and yet

I expected less, not being saved by this picture and not Bob Dylan's still divided voice again, now in his forties, "Fixin' to Die,"

a Son House, restored in blood. Ain't no heaven no, ain't no burnin' hell

where I'm going when I die can't nobody tell —not this light beyond me

again, creating shadows the need to fight them, ask: what do I *feel* about them?—what do *you*?

Not beauty but the *weight* was unexpected: of these tanks with sons inside of you not feeling this

of even one inconceivable idea the unspeaking globe of sun.

David Rosenberg

Such glorious hot summer mornings. The sprinklers working, the groundskeepers out mowing the greens, the sight of the pennants in the holes. Meadowlarks and cedar waxwings. Women golfers in short skirts and visors. Their talk of handicaps. In the distance a pair of men walking up a grassy slope, one with his driver over his shoulder. A lone golf cart poking along. And over there, the pro giving a lesson to a couple on the putting green.

Sometimes I said to myself that the country-club life was too good for the middle class.

Montrichard has current problems as well, the main one being, Will he or will he not get a sabbatical? And farther down on the scale of importance, Can he or can't he make any sort of life with his present wife, Tetly—"present" but absent and living full time in Manhattan surrounded by friends in the advertising and poetry businesses. And how can he say no to Karen Carlson when she is counting on him to take their three teenage children for a year?

At this juncture, Smith works in a brutal murder to keep the pot boiling until Montrichard can finally escape to Ireland, play at Daddy with two of his children, both of them beautiful and angelic, and find sexual fulfillment of a sort with a gray-haired German baroness. As the plot goes out the window, so does Montrichard's view of himself as a man of parts. Of course, his incompetence has been manifest all along, but Smith does not allow the Nabokovian premise full play. He is overly protective of his hero. At times he even seems to identify with the creep. Losing his objectivity, Smith diminishes his effect with silly incidents and overlong explanation.

Still, it is good fun, though fun is hardly what we expect from the man who ten years ago wrote *The Death of the Detective*. There's no fun in that book at all, and none of those bittersweet psychological insights and humble little confessions and *mea culpas*, either. In *Detective*, Smith laid out the kinks of a moribund culture the way a good pathologist takes apart a corpse—to find out what went wrong.

With its Gothic crimes and unlikely relationships, *Detective* is about as realistic as "Little Orphan Annie," but it is an absolutely believable book. Though the world is midcentury Chicago and not London of a hundred years earlier, there is something Dickensian in the variety of its characters, and in the combination of the archetype and the particular in the same character. As in Dickens (or Céline), this variety of types suggests that the book's pattern of evil, hidden and revealed, might ramify until it involves the whole population of a city, and its environs, too—suburbs and farms, and maybe beyond. Such inclusiveness makes the book long (636 pages in the Avon paperback edition), but the writing is direct, even terse at times, both qualities which come from an author having much to say.

*Doctor Blues* makes fine summer reading, but come winter, look up the *Detective*. □

## FILMS.

### WILLIAM WOLF

#### The Star Chamber

Numerous movies with a vigilante bent have exploited society's understandable anxiety over rampant crime and violence. In *Dirty Harry* Clint Eastwood played a cop who lived by the creed that action speaks louder than legalities. In *Death Wish* Charles Bronson gunned down street criminals as a freelance avenger; more recently, in *10 to Midnight*, he played a detective so outraged by legal loopholes he plants evidence to incriminate a killer.

These calls to arms are mere jabs at constitutional rights, however, when measured against *The Star Chamber*, in which judges form a secret after-hours execution club, dedicated to liquidating those who have evaded conviction through legal challenges. The twist is that *The Star Chamber* is meant to stand foursquare for civil liberties, as a stern warning that vigilante justice, whatever the provocation, is a crime and that the extremism depicted could be the logical end game of letting impatience with the judicial system run amok.

Despite its ultimate moral stance, the film is stacked so that some moviegoers

*William Wolf, a movie critic, is a contributing editor of New York Magazine.*

# The Nation Reprint Mart

## Latin America: A Political Guide.

An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation's* award-winning Latin American correspondent.

## A Letter to America.

*The Nation* January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

## Intervention.

Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

## El Salvador.

A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

## Empire as a Way of Life.

William Appleman Williams's brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

## The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement.

Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

## Myths of the Middle East.

This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

## Nuclear Samizdat.

What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

## END and the "Peace Offensive."

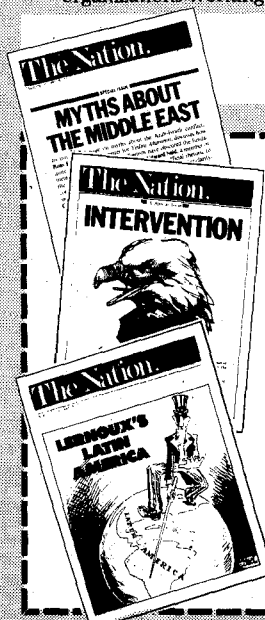
Warning that the peace movement must not be caught "sleepwalking," E.P. Thompson outlines the dangers of the Soviet "peace offensive," and urges the movement to eschew the seductions of both superpowers and to continue to "take the hand away from politicians and play it ourselves; by demonstrations, direct action, changing people's hearts and minds and by . . . breaking the barriers between East and West."

## Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable.

In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind: Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

## Back Issues of The Nation.

Back issues are \$3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)



## THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

| REPRINTS<br>(each title)   | Qty. | Name | Total |
|----------------------------|------|------|-------|
| 1 copy — \$3.00            |      |      |       |
| 10 copies — \$8.00         |      |      |       |
| 50 copies — \$30.00        |      |      |       |
| 100 copies — \$50.00       |      |      |       |
| 1,000 copies — \$300.00    |      |      |       |
| BACK ISSUES<br>\$3.00 each |      | Date |       |
|                            |      | Date |       |

Total Enclosed \_\_\_\_\_

SEND TO:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Offers expire December 30, 1983. NR8330

## Events.

Catch hold of a **Lifeline**



The live album that captures the warmth, power and excitement of their historic collaboration.

See them in concert together

**Holly Near  
Ronnie Gilbert**  
OF THE WEAVERS

with Jeff Langley & Susan Freundlich  
SIGN LANGUAGE ARTIST

CATCH THEM IN THESE CITIES

9/23 Philadelphia, PA 215-893-1930 or 301-986-1153  
9/24 Kansas City, MO 816-753-6617 or 816-931-5794  
9/25 Denver, CO Datatix Outlets or 303-393-6706  
9/30 Phoenix, AZ 602-966-9276 or 602-965-3434  
10/1 Los Angeles, CA 213-956-6624 • 10/2 Berkeley, CA 415-642-9988 or 415-642-9990 • 10/7 New York City 212-874-2424 or 212-874-6770 or 212-929-1585  
10/8 Minneapolis, MN 612-224-9592 • 10/9 Chicago, IL 608-362-3722 • 10/10 New York City (see above)  
For More Information contact Redwood Records (415) 428-9191

Look for LIFELINE in your local stores or send \$8.50 (US Dollars) to Redwood Records, 476 W. MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94609 (Calif. residents add 4.5% tax). ALSO AVAILABLE ON CASSETTE

Let Nation readers know about your event!

They want to know:  
**WHAT'S GOING ON  
WHERE and  
WHEN**

## Events.

I have enclosed \_\_\_\_\_ camera ready ad  
\_\_\_\_\_ copy to be set  
\_\_\_\_\_ inches per ad  
\_\_\_\_\_ times ad should run  
\$\_\_\_\_\_ check or money order

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Organization \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_

The Nation is published on Saturdays. It reaches subscribers and newsstands 5 days in advance of Saturday cover date.

We need your ad or copy by Wednesday, 17 days prior to cover date. We will accept phone-in copy. Call George Monaco (212) 242-8400.

Rates: \$35 per column inch. Special offer, limited time only! 4 ads for the price of 3.

are more likely to identify with the judges than condemn them. The screenplay, written by Roderick Taylor and Peter Hyams (who also directs), presents a drastically polarized situation. Michael Douglas portrays Steven R. Hardin, a dedicated Los Angeles Superior Court judge who at first stubbornly adheres to the principle that the law must be followed, even though "technicalities" like illegally seized evidence allow criminals to walk free from his courtroom.

As his frustrations mount, Hardin becomes aware that his longtime mentor, Judge Benjamin Caulfield, played with studied irascibility by Hal Holbrook, has a secret. When the older judge considers his protégé sufficiently exasperated, he informs him about the sub rosa court. At first Hardin is appalled, but upset that an anguished father has tried to avenge the murder of his child after Hardin released the presumed killers, he joins the other judges. Their procedure is harrowing; each case brought before the Star Chamber is examined, and if the accused is found guilty, a hit man is dispatched to carry out the sentence. It's death-squad time in sunny California.

You don't have to be a genius to figure out what happens next. Hardin obtains a secret order against the alleged child-murderers only to learn they are innocent. His restored judicial conscience is now so bent on preventing the executions that he risks his life, both in hand-to-hand combat with the ungrateful creeps he is trying to save and in threatening to expose his colleagues.

Artistically, the film is on the level of a run-of-the-mill television drama. Douglas and Holbrook act well enough but their characters are one-dimensional, and the dialogue and the dabs of what passes for characterization are little more than gimmicky shorthand. Judge Caulfield is a baseball buff; a clichéd black detective (Yaphet Kotto) doggedly follows his hunches. Hyams directs *The Star Chamber* with a reliance on clichés that is surprising after his *Capricorn One*, a film about a government attempt to fool the public into believing men who never left Earth had landed on the moon.

But even had the production been more effective, the balance would still remain decidedly off. The killing of a child is too inflammatory; the suspects too rotten. We know that unpleasant people are often the subjects of crucial test cases and that the Bill of Rights

does not require a popularity contest. But by the time we are meant to applaud Hardin for seeing the light, that message has been thoroughly overshadowed by the film's banalities and by the primitive appeal of the judges' self-righteous zeal.

Besides, the film's premise is an outright distortion. The assumption that criminals regularly get off because courts throw out illegally seized evidence is a red herring in tune with the mounting attacks on the "exclusionary rule." In fact, as Tom Wicker has written in *The New York Times*, the rule doesn't prevent many criminals from going to jail, but it is a convenient target for politicians eager to exploit the widespread fear of crime.

Ultimately, *The Star Chamber* manipulates our anxieties far more than it analyzes them. Yet perhaps one should be just a tiny bit grateful that filmmakers are beginning to show some awareness that he-man heroics are not the answer to social problems. This summer we've also had *The Survivors*, a shambles of a comedy spoofing the survivalist movement, with Robin Williams undergoing training in guerrilla warfare. It would be nice to think that we're in for a spate of better films as an antidote to the present law-and-order atmosphere. If any such lie on the horizon, one would hope that at least, unlike *The Star Chamber*, they avoid the exploitative devices that are so upsetting in their macho counterparts. □

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of \$20 or more. Membership includes participation in a variety of Associates activities and a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*.

For further information write or call Claudine Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011 (212) 242-8400

# CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.

## APARTMENTS

**SUNY** professor on sabbatical desires one- or two-bedroom apartment in Manhattan for sublet from September 1 to December 31. Call or write A. Liebman, 621 Terrace Ave., Vestal, NY 13850, (607) 785-2375.

**NATION STAFFER** seeks studio or one-bedroom apartment in Manhattan starting September. Nice guy, excellent references. Call David: (212) 242-8400 (days), 431-5599 (eves).

**\$200 REWARD** for information leading to capture of apartment. Specifics: one bedroom, in decent neighborhood (prefer East or West Village); \$400/month or less; need as soon as possible, September 1 at latest. Call after 6 P.M. weekdays, all day weekends: 691-5983, or write Nation Box 27.

## ASSOCIATIONS

**TECHNOCRACY:** The extension of science to build a civilization on this Continent worthy of man. Write Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

**BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY.** Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

## BOOKS

### KNOW YOUR LOCAL POLICE by Mae Churchill

24 pages of questions for reporters, editors and citizens.

- police as protectors of public safety
- police as instruments of justice
- police as intelligence agents
- police and the public purse
- police as public servants
- police as professionals

Order from:

### URBAN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

185 Pier Street,  
Santa Monica, CA 90405.

\$2.50/single copy, prepaid.

\$1.75/10 or more, prepaid.

**"136 + BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS."** Unique booklet. More! \$3 to: CPU, PO Box 200, Redmond, WA 98052.

**AMAZING FACTS WITH SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:** "Viking Explorers & the Columbus Fraud." Anderson, \$9.45. Valhalla Press, 231 S. Green St., Chicago, IL 60607.



### LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)

Unique guide to self-deliverance for dying persons \$11 p.p. Membership (incl. newsletter) \$15. Non-profit.

Hemlock Society, P.O. Box 66218  
Los Angeles, CA 90066. Phone (213) 391-1871

## BOOKS

**WRITERS!** New International Directory/Little Magazines/Small Presses. 600 pages. \$17.95 plus \$2 handling. Dustbooks, Paradise, CA 95969.

**AWARD WINNING.** America's best-loved Chicano novel. Rudolfo A. Anaya's BLESS ME, ULTIMA. 140,000 + sold. 249 pages. \$8.50. Quinto Sol Publishers, PO Box 9275, Berkeley, CA 94709. You will love it, too. Very quick mail-order response.

**CHICKEN TOON.** Branko Romano's cartoon book. 94 pages. Fun. Free bumpersticker, "My Other Car is a Chicken Coupe," with each book. \$3. Cheep-Cheep Products, PO Box 10111, Berkeley, CA 94709. By mail.

**THE LIBRARY OF AMERICA.** One-third off on individual volumes (by selection), shipping free. Literary Industries, PO Box 13250, Pittsburgh, PA 15243.

Call for instant delivery  
of any current book and save  
20% off each additional  
title ordered



ReadersExpress

Call toll-free  
1-800-852-5000

Amex/MasterCard/  
VISA accepted

## PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL!



Learn the world's great secret: how the Roman Calpurnius Piso (pen-name Flavius Josephus) and family created fictional Jesus, Christianity, authored NT. POSITIVE PROOF, legitimate offer. SCHOLARLY BOOKLET: Send \$3 to Vector, Box 6215-E, Bellevue, WA 98008

## BOOKSTORES

**ST. LOUIS READERS:** There is a progressive new bookstore in the St. Louis area carrying many of the titles reviewed and advertised in The Nation. We specialize in History, Economics, Politics (current & backlist), and stock quality literature, domestic and foreign. The RED OWL Bookshop, 7601 Forsyth (one block east of Hanley, in downstairs Clayton). Call (314) 721-2119, 10 A.M. - 7 P.M.

## BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

**OVER 100** progressive buttons and stickers. Catalogue \$1 (refundable with first order). Colt, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

## EDUCATION

### STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Learn about the revolution firsthand.

Year-round course offerings.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol.

Phone (212) 391-2695 or write: 70 Greenwich Ave., #559, New York, NY 10011.

## EDUCATION

**LEARN 10 LANGUAGES** a year while striding for exercise. PO Box 1727, 200 Language Club, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

## GENERAL INTEREST

**GREAT PYRAMID** corroborates Bible. FREE 48-page color book. Bible Standard (NA), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

**EIGHT YEARS** of providing unusual and necessary connections. Office for Open Network, Box 18666, Denver, CO 80218, (303) 832-9764.

**CONFERENCE:** Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Indiana, PA), "Technology and Society: Human Values and Policy Making," exploration of economic, political and social aspects featuring William Winpisinger, Marion Anderson, Stanley Aronowitz, Harley Shaiken, Arthur Waskow and Judy Gregory. Write or call: Irwin Marcus, Department of History, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705, (412) 357-2237. This conference is supported by a grant from the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, a statewide funding organization funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

**PENFRIENDS:** 700 females, 300 males, all ages worldwide, including the Orient, Australia and Europe. Contact: ZARINA, Post Box 10, Visakhapatnam 530 001, INDIA.

**HANDWRITING ANALYSIS** by a graduate of The Graphology Workshop, New School for Social Research. \$25. Mary L. Orloff, 1540 York Ave., New York, NY 10028.

## INSURANCE

### DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC. ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021

212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

## INVENTIONS

**INVENTIONS,** ideas, technology wanted! Industry presentation/national exposition, (800) 528-6050 x831.

## LITERARY SERVICES

**AUTHORS,** advertise your manuscript's availability to 2,000 publishers/agents in "Writer's Showcase." Details, \$2. Professional ghostwriting also available. Professional Team. Literary Service Bureau, PO Box 60185, Washington, DC 20039, (202) 723-1715.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**LEGAL STIMULANTS:** Capsules \$11, tablets \$7 per 1,000. 20-20s, green-clear, pink hearts. Bob's Sundries, PO Box 7908, Pittsburgh, PA 15216. (412) 344-3637.

**NEW CREDIT CARD!** Nobody refused!  
Also Visa/Mastercard.  
Call (805) 687-6000, ext. C-3596.

# CLASSIFIED.

## MONEY MAKING OPPORTUNITIES

**HOW TO MAKE BIG MONEY** telling your favorite stories and experiences!! Simple procedures. Write Cuppet, Box 91-D, Wilmington, CA 90748.

**EARN EXTRA INCOME AT HOME.** Free supplies. Send \$1 and SASE for full details. Sam Clement, Dept. T, 419 Annette Ave., Goose Creek, SC 29445.

## PERSONALS

**UNATTACHED?** Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

**ORIENTAL WOMEN** wish to correspond with Americans. Cherry Blossoms, PO Box 1021NA, Honokaa, HI 96727.

**SINGLE BOOKLOVERS** for all cultured singles. 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081 or call (215) 566-2132.

**WOMAN, 56.** Creative, intelligent, independent. Seeks man 45-60 of accomplishment, good character. VH, Box 24951, Rochester, NY 14624.

**WOMAN, 60s,** with minor handicap, will share Philadelphia house with responsible handicapped or elderly person. Philadelphia telephone, (215) 463-4460.

**RETIRED** social science professor, widower, in good health, seeks mature, sophisticated long-term female companion. 6G Sutton Pl., Bloomfield, CT 06002.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**CIRCULATION ASSISTANT AT THE NATION.** Position available immediately. Detail-oriented person needed. Responsible for customer service, liaison with fulfillment house, newsstand and back issue orders, and circulation-related records. Experience helpful. Send cover letter and resume to Circulation Department, The Nation, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

**ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR** for legislative office of national civil liberties organization, to manage office, monitor legislation. Administrative, secretarial experience, legislative knowledge required. Salary \$15,000. Medical benefits. Send resume, typing speed to NCARL, 201 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION** with NYC-based progressive touring theater. P/T, decent pay; phone & typing skills essential. Send resume to Modern Times Theater, 250 W. 65th St., New York, NY 10023.

**GOVERNMENT JOBS.** \$16,559-\$50,553/year. Now hiring. Your area. Call (805) 687-6000, ext. R-3596.

**EDITOR,** Women's International League for Peace and Freedom monthly magazine. To edit, design layout, paste up. Publications experience, commitment to WILPF's work. Send resume, writing sample to Executive Director, WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

**IN THESE TIMES** is seeking a fund-raiser with at least 2 years experience. Must have contacts with individuals, organizations and foundations. Benefits, guaranteed salary plus commission. Apply to James Weinstein or Ruth Greenspan, (312) 472-5700. IN THESE TIMES, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

**FUND-RAISER/GRANTWRITER.** National women's peace organization based in Philadelphia seeks a person to identify, cultivate and solicit large donors and assist with foundation fund-raising. Good writing and administrative skills and commitment to peace and social justice issues are important. Salary \$14,000. Liberal benefits. Call (215) 563-7110 for more information.

**TEACH IN JAPAN.** Current information on living and getting work in Japan. Plus, pre-addressed mailing labels for over 150 schools and agencies ready for your inquiries or resume. Send \$9.25 to Language Pacifica, 29 West Portal Ave., San Francisco, CA 94127.

## PUBLICATIONS

**THE GUARDIAN:** North America's #1 independent left newsweekly. Non-sectarian movement coverage. Terrific international reportage. FREE introductory subscription: Guardian, Dept. NA, 33 West 17th St., New York, NY 10011.

**TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN** available for \$1 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

## PUBLICATIONS

**READ ABOUT ATHEIST ACTIVISM IN LOS ANGELES.** Send \$1 for copy. Atheist Connection Newsletter, 2531 Sawtelle Blvd., Sta. 69 DP-M, Los Angeles, CA 90064.

**SMALL TOWN,** the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, \$30. PO Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

**ENVIRONMENTAL OPPORTUNITIES:** A monthly bulletin listing environmental job openings in the U.S. Write today for details: EONT, Box 670, Walpole, NH 03608.

**PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY** just published! Good for publicity, networking, subscription details on 500 periodicals on peace, politics, international culture, health, etc. \$5 from PO Box N-120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

**NEW!** Subscribe to the WOMEN'S REVIEW OF BOOKS, informed opinion on current feminist writing. Published monthly from October. Subscriptions: \$9 mailed by September 1st, \$12 thereafter, \$25 institutions. Free sample copy on request. Dept. NA, Women's Review, Wellesley Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA 02181.

**THE SCHOLAR'S BOOKSHELF, A-9.** Write for the new Spring/Summer 1983 Sale Catalogue. Over 1,158 titles at up to 75% discount. 51 Everett Dr., Princeton Jct., NJ 08550.

**PRIVACY JOURNAL.** Get ready for 1984. Subscribe to "Washington's most talked-about monthly newsletter." Send \$25 to PO Box 8844, Washington, DC 20003.

**NEW MEXICO:** Get the lowdown on the enchanted state. Booklet price \$3.95. DeGante Southwest, 1210 Luisa St., #180, Santa Fe, NM 87501.

**STRIKE!** The newsletter dedicated to direct action. Anarchist news, theory and opinion. \$4 per year.

**BASIC TRAINING:** A consumer's guide to the military for counselors, teachers, parents, potential recruits. \$12.95 from Progressive Foundation, 315 West Gorham, Madison, WI 53703.

**UNICORN PRESS.** Free 24-page illus. 1983 catalogue. Unicorn Press, PO Box 3307, Greensboro, NC 27402.

**NUCLEAR FREE ZONES.** For free information and a sample issue of THE NEW ABOLITIONIST call or write Nuclear Free America, the national clearinghouse and resource center for Nuclear Free Zones, (800) 528-6050 Ext. 54, 2521 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218. Organizing packet and subscription available for \$10.

**FRIENDS FOR JAMAICA NEWSLETTER.** Promotes struggle of the Jamaican worker. Subscription \$7, sample \$1. Send to 1 East 125th St., New York, NY 10035.

**SHOCKING! BIZARRE!** Editor unmasked as chimpanzee! \$1 for astounding story. Pangloss Papers, Box 18917, Los Angeles, CA 90018.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION*:

**RATES:** \$.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: \$35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

**Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!**

**TO: THE NATION**  
Classified Department  
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for \$\_\_\_\_\_ for my advertisement to run \_\_\_\_\_ weeks

Advertiser \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Copy: \_\_\_\_\_

Payment in U.S. currency

# Crossword Puzzle No. 1973

FRANK W. LEWIS

## QUERIES

### AUTHOR'S QUERY

For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about inept authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

## RECIPES

**TIRED OF SERVING** the same old vegetable dishes? 12 exciting recipes for \$2. Veggies, 15807 Pennington Rd., Tampa, FL 33624.

## SUMMER RENTAL

**FOR RENT.** Summer or longer. Lease option or sale possible. Lakewood, New Jersey. Home for older people, children or grandchildren, one pet OK. Fully furnished. Close to shore, community swimming pools, recreation. Rental \$1,200/month. (707) 462-5514.

## TRAVEL

### Freighter Cruises First Class For \$50 A Day!

Discover the luxury cruise you've dreamed of. *TravTips Cruise & Freighter Travel Association* will show you how. Membership includes:

- **FREE** bi-monthly publication describing cruises in detail, schedules, fares and facts
- Personalized help with trip planning
- Eligibility for exclusive voyages
- Membership fee applied to first cruise

\$15.00 (one year) or \$25.00 (2 years)

Send check, m.o., or major credit card no. or ask for free details:

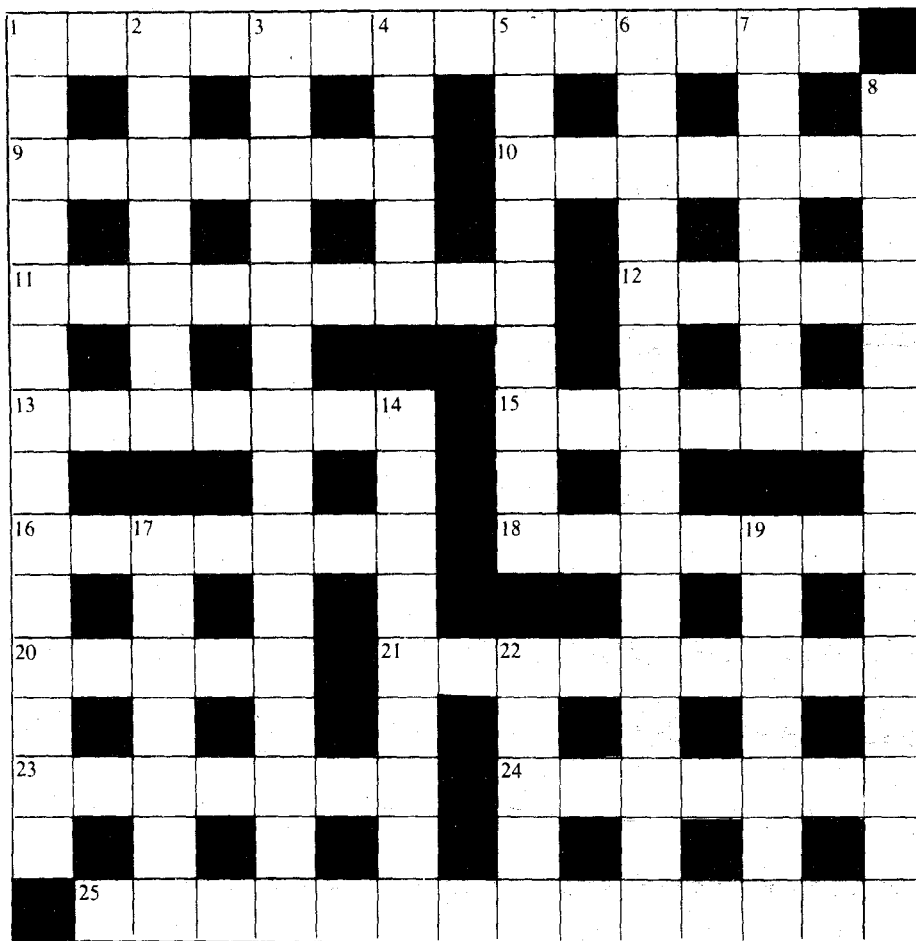
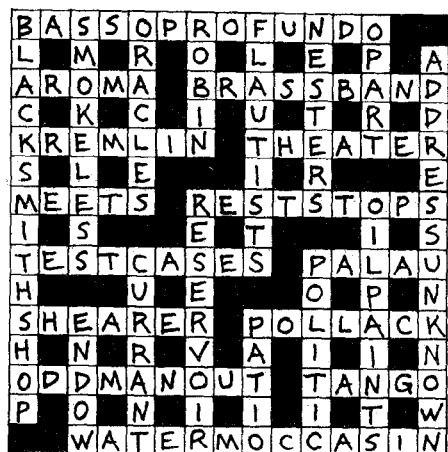


Dept. U7 Box 933 Farmingdale, NY 11737  
Add \$2 per year U.S. funds for Canada & Mexico.

## WEALTH BUILDING

**BECOME WEALTHY!** CPA tells how. Money-back guarantee. \$10 postpaid (plus 65¢ tax—Californians). **BOTTOM LINE PRESS**, PO Box 31420, Dept. TN, San Francisco, CA 94131.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1972



### ACROSS

- 1 This separates the comers from the goers, as you look along it. (7,7)
- 9 Something like ivy put on the fish might make it sour. (7)
- 10 Painter with a measure of power on the water, over the water. (7)
- 11 Could this pest be a bookworm? (4-5)
- 12 Released from a seed with some difficulty, or with no difficulty? (5)
- 13 Land at the extreme limits of Australasia. (7)
- 15 More than one tribe is involved with such marriage. (7)
- 16 Saviour (Reformed version) presenting differing aspects. (7)
- 18 Charm in its short version—really to enslave. (7)
- 20 A brood found in the alcove years ago. (5)
- 21 If you get to pillage and burn, this might be exchanged. (5,4)
- 23 A strain in stone construction? (7)
- 24 Leaches a distillation in the city. (7)
- 25 It's neat, what they take! (At least that's what they used to say!) (6,8)

### DOWN

- 1 Scratch, as they say, possibly recommended by one. (6,8)
- 2 Mars might be associated with them in more than one way! (7)
- 3 Bad art you predigest for an old picture producer. (15)

- 4 Dared in the past to be so uncertainly sturdy (except for the end). (5)
- 5 Bliss of solitude, according to Wordsworth. (6,3)
- 6 Bad little boys might have been in back with the last two words. (It might involve a foul calling.) (3,5,3,4)
- 7 A bad pipe as a symptom of defective digestion. (7)
- 8 The first day you get down in the dumps with the regulations, but you might not find an opening because of them. (6,4,4)
- 14 Positive declaration of British policy—a sort of it sure can, as you can see. (9)
- 17 Some bird has to bring up an Italian city. (Dante ended up here.) (7)
- 19 Possibly the U.S.S. Erie put out again! (7)
- 22 It's usually three-cornered, being part of a terrific hump. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

### PUZZLED?

No more cross words; write for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's "ground rules" c/o *The Nation*. Learn why "little skipper" is a "truant."

# IF YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT THE COUNTRY TRY The Nation.

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

**YES!!!** Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for \$12.00, a savings of 60% off the newsstand price and 30% off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

- ☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with  
FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!  
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
(PLEASE PRINT)  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

## SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND! (And save \$3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just \$12.00 for the first and \$9.00 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

GIFT TO \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ subscription(s).  
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)  
☐ Bill me later.

Add \$3.50 postage for subscriptions in Canada and Mexico, \$6.50 for other foreign countries. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

60% OFF  
NEWSSTAND PRICE

SAVE AN  
ADDITIONAL \$3.00